2: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

000

FLORENTINE CODEX

[p. i]

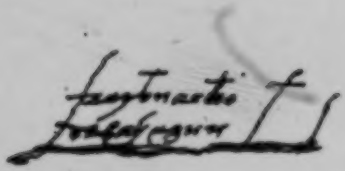
2. Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Astec NU7

000

Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN



[p. ii]

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

000

BOOK I—THE GODS

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

By

Arthur J. O. Anderson
School of American Research

Charles E. Dibble
University of Utah

IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART II

Published by
The School of American Research and The University of Utah

Monographs of The School of American Research

Number 14, Part II Santa Fe, New Mexico 1960

[p. iii]

2: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

000

Copyright 1950
The School of American Research
All Rights Reserved

1000 Copies

[p. iv]

2: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

Temporary Foreword

114 The *Florentine Codex* is one of three well-known manuscripts planned by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún to describe the civilization of the Aztecs. The others, both of which are fragmentary, are the *Biblioteca del Palacio* and *Academia de la Historia* MSS in Madrid; these may have been field notes which Sahagún used for the complete version, the *Florentine Codex*. In this, Fr. Bernardino wrote the same accounts in parallel columns, Spanish on the left and Aztec on the right. The work was profusely illustrated. The Spanish text sometimes was fuller than, and sometimes only summarized, the Aztec text. From this codex stemmed the Spanish texts published by Bustamante and, probably, Kingsborough, more than a century ago; and these early printed versions are the basis of later editions. Sahagún named his work *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*; the term *Florentine Codex* used in this Temporary Preface means Sahagún's *Historia* in the famed manuscript of the Laurentian Library, Florence, Italy.

A microfilm copy of the *Florentine Codex* was secured in 1938 by the late Lansing B. Bloom who, with his wife, was sent to various European Libraries to secure microfilms of this and other important manuscripts—mostly relating to Southwestern history. Mr. and Mrs. Bloom performed wonders in the face of considerable difficulties. The project was a joint undertaking of the School of American Research, the University of New Mexico, and the Bandelier Centennial Committee.

The microfilm negatives were delivered to the late Dr. E. L. Hewett, then Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, in 1939. As prime mover in the securing of the copy of the *Florentine Codex* for the School of American Research, he was interested in its being published; and as an anthropologist, he recognized the necessity of a complete English translation of the Aztec, of which only a little had been translated into any language.

First, photographic enlargements were made from the negatives, by Miss Bertha P. Dutton and Miss Hulda Hobbs of the School of American Research. One copy remained with the School of American Research, and another was deposited for additional security with the University of New Mexico. Later, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley arranged for the distribution of four additional copies in American universities and other institutions which were interested, and with the Mexican Government. It was stipulated that these copies were not to be published for a period of five years.

In the eighteen months during which Dr. Morley was Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, he carried on the plans started by Dr. Hewett for the translation of the Aztec text of Sahagún's immortal *Historia*, a project which he also had for some years been interested in seeing through. The final outline of procedure was completed just before his last illness. He would undoubtedly have been deeply concerned with and infinitely helpful in its progress had he lived.

To carry out the considerable task of translating the twelve books of Sahagún's magnum opus, Dr. Morley brought together the only two scholars in the United States whom he knew, at the time, to be prepared to undertake the work. Dr. Charles E. Dibble's studies in the Mexican field had aroused his admiration. Dr. Arthur J. O. Anderson, on the instances of Dr. Morley and Dr. Hewett, had been studying Nahuatl for some years. By arrangement with Dr. A. R. Olpin, President of the University of Utah, Dr. Dibble's teaching schedule at the University was modified so that he could devote half of his time to the translation project. Dr. Morley similarly made adjustments with Dr. Anderson's time at the Museum of New Mexico.

The plan, as developed by Dr. Morley, Dr. Dibble, and Dr. Anderson, was to translate the dozen books of Sahagún's *Historia* singly and not necessarily in the order in which they appear in the *Florentine Codex* and the printed Spanish and French editions, and to publish them as completed, as Parts II-XIII of a Monograph of the School of American Research and a Publication of the University of Utah. Part I was to appear last of all, and to include a Preface and other introductory material, the Table of Contents, the Bibliography, and the General Index. Each part was to be fully illustrated, and, because of their unusual clarity, the Pano y Troncoso illustrations were to be reproduced.

These plans are being carried out.

As to translation procedure, Dr. Morley urged that the product be in readable English. The compilation of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, as valuable to the anthropologist and the historian, was to be regarded as a major source book for the students, yet presented so as to be of value to the scholar and of interest to the general reader. Taking advantage of some broad similarities between English and Aztec syntax, the translators were to put it into English such that the structure of the translations would resemble as closely as possible that of the original. Since the Spanish text

[p. iv (A)]

114 of the *Florentine Codex* was Sahagún's sixteenth-century Spanish, the English translation of the Nahuatl was to parallel, in a sense, the late Renaissance feeling of Sahagún's Spanish through the employment of occasional archaisms which might give it something of the atmosphere of the King James version of the Bible. This procedure, while it precludes a translation which would be word-for-word a precise duplicate (in English), would, it was felt, still preserve sufficient accuracy in its presentation of the meaning of the Aztec version.

A less flexible condition would, of course, have been possible; or an inordinate. A linguistic study, however, was not contemplated in this translation. For the linguist, and for any who would wish to check the accuracy of the translation, the Aztec of the *Florentine Codex* was to be faithfully reproduced.

This procedure the translators have attempted to follow.

If, when the total translation project is completed, the translators have produced a work sufficiently accurate to convey reliably the meaning of the Aztec, and thus be of use to the historian and ethnologist, they will have sufficiently accomplished their purpose.

000

A. Ray Olpin
President
University of Utah

Boaz Long
Director
School of American Research

TRANSLATORS' NOTE

The translators wish to acknowledge the encouragement and cooperation of Hon. Boaz Long, Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, of Dr. A. R. Olpin, President of the University of Utah, of Albert G. Ely, Executive Secretary of the Museum of New Mexico; and of Dean O. Meredith Wilson, University College, Dr. Harold W. Bentley, Director of the University of Utah Press, and Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel, Head of the Department of Anthropology, all of the University of Utah. They also express their gratitude to their right-hand man, Max Is Maison, and to their wives for their unusual forbearance.

[p. iv (B)]

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

CONTENTS

	Page
First Book. Here are named the gods who were worshipped by the natives	1
First Chapter, which telleth of the highest gods who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past [Ometeuctli]	1
Second Chapter, which telleth of the god named Piyaui, who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times	1
Third Chapter, which telleth of the god named Tezcatlipoca, who, in times past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made	2
Fourth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Tlaloc, the prince	2
Fifth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Quetzalcoatl	2
Sixth Chapter: here are named the greatest goddesses who were worshipped as idols, whom the natives falsely revered as gods [Cihuacoatl]	3
Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Chicomecoatl	4
Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteo innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci)	4
Ninth Chapter, in which are learnèd of the goddess named Tzapotlan tenan	5
Tenth Chapter, which telleth of the goddesses [called] the Cinteopiltin	6
Eleventh Chapter, which telleth of the goddess named Chicomecoatl yeoe, who was [goddess of] the maize	6
Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of Tlaçolteoal	8
Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods—the lesser [ones], who were considered the very old gods [Quiahuitteti]	11
Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Mixcoatl and Xochipilli	13
Fifteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Omacatl	14
Sixteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Ixtlilton, the earth-scraper (Tlalnenemini)	15
Seventeenth Chapter, which telleth of the god whose name was Opochtli, whom anciently were here worshipped as a god	16
Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Xipe totec	16
Nineteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Yacatecutli	17
Twentieth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Napa tecutli	20
Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Tepictoton, who were held to be among the Tlaloc	21
Twenty-second Chapter, which telleth of Tezcatzoncatl, who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits	24
Appendix to the First Book	25
Prologue	27
The Truth of God's Word [paralleling *Book of Wisdom*, Chapter XIII]	27
Chapter XIV	29
Chapter XII	32
Chapter XV	33
Chapter XVI	33
[Conclusion]	33
Let him who understandeth read this well	45
Behold the words of sorrow and pity which [the author] setteth upon paper; how he crieth out, how he prayeth [for the idolaters] to God. Thus he speaketh	46

[p. v]

000

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

following page 26

Page from *Florentine Codex*

1. Uitzilopochtli
2. Painal
3. Texcatlipoca
4. Tlaloc
5. Quetzalcoatl
6. Cinteotl
7. Chicome coatl
8. Tezcatzoncatl
9. Tzapotla tenan
10. Cinteopilli
11. Chalchiuhtli ycue
12. Tlapalcoatl
13. Xiuhtecutli
14. Macuilxochitl or Xochipilli
15. Omacatl
16. Ixtilton
17. Opochtli
18. Xipe totec
19. Yiacatecutli
20. Naui tecutli
21. Tzontemoctli
22-26. Tepictoton (Mixcoatepec, Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuhtli ycue, Papaztaquel, Itstac tapoal)
27. Chalchiuhtli ycue
28. Tlalocan (Temple of Tlaloc)
29. Tzapotlan tenan, Chalchiuhtli ycue, Chicome coatl
30. Tlapalcoatl—Confession
31. Naui tecutli
32. Tepictoton
33. Pantleon (Tepictoton)
34. Illustration from Appendix, Chapter 13
35. Illustration from Appendix, Chapter 13
36. Illustration from Confession
37. Illustration from Confession
38. Tlelocatoton
39. Xiuhtecutli
40. Opochtli
41. Yiacatecutli
42. Tzontemoctli
43. Tepictoton

[p. vi]

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU? Astec NU?

De los Dioses

FIRST BOOK. HERE ARE NAMED THE GODS WHO WERE WORSHIPPED BY THE NATIVES.

INIC CE AMUXTLI: VNCAN MOTENEOA, IN TETEUH: IN QUJNMOTEUTIAIA IN NICAN TLACA.

First Chapter, which tells of the highest gods[1] who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past.

Humming-bird from the Left (Vitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man.[2] [He was] a sorcerer, an owner of evil; a soothsayer, a diviner,[3] a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war.

For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague —that is, war.[4] And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The merchants bathed them.[5]

And he was thus arrayed: he had on one quechquemitl of blue cotinga feathers;[6] he had the fire serpent diagram, the blue tasseled cloth,[7] the xoxo head.[8] He wore sandals and shells.[9]

Ynic vno capitulo, ynnchan tlacua, yn oc cenca tlapoaltia teteuh: yn qujnmoteutiaia, ynnic yn qujnelnamjlitia, yn ixquich tlacah.

Vitzilopochtli: qua macuxolli, qua tlaxcal cenca: xocoll, tetezcajl, ololocuxcatilla, tolotzcajoj: qujnnenej in ixcoiol, tzontecoj, tzotzcoloj:

ca ixnelpa mjtoznja, ynnon qujlaja yn xiuhcoatl, in mamalhuatl, q. n. ixcoiol, tecuel, tlachinolli. Auh yn jquac ilhujpopoliztia, mahmjxtia, tlachtlehjxtia: tochtin, yn puchtecatl.

Auh yeja mochichimja: xiuhtzonxoxouhca cuxca, xiuhcuexcohtli, xiuhtilmatli, tzotzocax, tzitzilin, ezcuitlin.

776

[796]

Second Chapter, which tells of the god named He who Hummeth (Paynal), who was worshipped, and to whom sacrifices were offered, in ancient times.

Paynal was "the delegate," "the substitute," "the deputy"; because he represented Vitzilopochtli when there was a procession. He was named Paynal, because he poured an and vegal down ahead.[10]

Ynic vno capitulo, ynnchan tlacua yn tecuel yn jxnca payna: yn qujnmoteutiaia, ynnic in qujnelnamjlitia in ixquich tlacah.

Paynal: nonopalleuiani, nomixipeleuiani: ynnon mjtoznj: ixhica on qujnixipeleuiaia, in vitzilohochtli, yn ixquic tlaxcoloaia, motenoaia paynal: ipampa on conca, qujxnotzala, qujxnolalochtiaia.

776

796

[551]

---

1. The corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: "Capitulo primero, que habla, del principal dios. . . ."
2. Eduard Seler, in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1902-23), Vol. II, p. 975, refers to him as *nur ein Sterblicher*.
3. Seler then phrases the passage: "Uitzilopochtli was only a man, a magician, an unlucky omen, a wicked sorcerer, one who deluded the people with visions."—*Collected Works* (Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959), Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 4.
4. Cf. Rémi Siméon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885); and Andrés de Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875), p. 239. ". . . of him it is related that he drowns the unbaptized and the heathens, i. e., war, water (upon drowning) and fire as the people" (Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 216). Cf. also Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 102, ". . . *nuestro dios Vitzilopochtli vsaba de dar esta pena contra sus enemigos para atemorizar y despauorizar, la vez se llama tlacahel, y la otra mamalhoztli . . . y di cuenta por cosa cierta en la nueua vna relacion hecha de antiguo, que llaman tlacahel, en donde dize contenerse a crueldad, y aquella, cuenta vino, como supersticion en las batallas contra gente enemiga vino la ciudad sobre los enemigos con que los ahogauades y hazia hasta*."
5. The meaning (cf. endpt) is to offer as a sacrifice, or to bathe or anoint (cf. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 370, 309).
6. Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 169. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 421) identifies the bird as *Cotinga ridgwi* A. nuttalli, and suggests that the feathers were arranged in a manner pattern. Siméon, op. cit., p. 699, calls the bird *Hocheroux ave* (Heron).
7. Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 426. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 309, suggests that such an outside of clothing was sometimes worn about the legs.
8. Seler, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 220, and Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 140, and Vol. II, p. 309, say the xoxo-head was provided with a hole or a reed, or insert a decoration. In the Spanish text of the Florentine Codex, Lib. II, fo. 37r, Sahagún defines *mamalhuatl* as "*palitos de hueso fuera, a manera del mondapiés, que se usa en la nueua*." Cf. also Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 3, 40), who says that it is the same as *quechtecpatl*. See also, of Uitzilopochtli.
9. The *Rl Biblioteca del Palacio* reads *tzitzilli, ezcuilli, de hule*—an indication that they were worn on the soles of the legs.—Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 427-8.
10. Sahagún (Florentine Codex, corresponding Spanish text) describes Paynal as figure aforesaid.

776 776 And the people followed [the impersonator], jostling, hooting, roaring. They made the dust rise; they caused the ground to smoke. Like people possessed, they stamped upon the earth.

[778] And one was carried [the image] in his arms.[11]

And he was adorned thus: he was garbed in the costly cape of precious feathers,[12] with the quetzal-feather headornament in the manner of coastal people. Bars were painted on his face; and a star design. He had a turquoise nose-plug. He was the humming-bird disguise. He had the headornament; he had a shield set with a mosaic of turquoise.

Ank in mocuaiki, quiyocuia, quiyolochocuia, cuahujtiuja, quiçacatztiuja, uaholi quiçacatztiuja, dalli quiçapaztiuja: inkapin tlaiaquiyaqua, tlalli tetzcujac.

auh ce tlacuel quiçapaloiuja.

Auh yeje mochichioaia, tecpanoaia, quetzalquaxoaiaol, in cuecalaiaja, iuacachichioaia, iuitlachichioaia, mixtlalichioaia, xiuhcocoxqui, tlatlauhcuicuiloaia, elecuaia, xinachioaia.

776 [796] Third Chapter, which tells of the god named Smoking Mirror (Tezcatlipoca), who, in those past, was worshipped as a god, and to whom offerings were made.

Tezcatlipoca: He was considered a true god, whom she-he was everywhere—in the land of the dead, on earth, and in heaven. When he walked on the earth, he brought vice and sin. He introduced anguish and affliction.

He brought discord among people, wherefore he was called "the enemy on two sides." All evils which came to men, all [these] he created, brought down, inflicting men and dividing them [one against the other].

And sometimes he bestowed riches—wealth, heroism, valor, position of dignity, rulership, nobility, honor.

Jnic ey, capitulo, yeciqui tlamatia in teotl, yn jquac tetzcatipoca: in quiçaaxoteuia, yuan in quiçalaoaia, in tecuah.

Tezcatipoca: yuin uel teotl iquac mochoia, nençiuan yuençiuan: ueicila, tlalticpac, yihiyoc. Ja jquac nenja tlalticpac, iehoatl quitlatlatia, in tetlahli tlaqualli: ezoc tequanalqui, cuiçaiotiuia,

tecuilli, tecapanola motecuia: ipampa y, nijmain necoc iaotl, mochi quiçaoaia, quiçauaçaja, quiçaocuiltiuia, quiçacuiltiuia yn jnquich aquilli aquin mochioaia: ezo nençiltiuia, tequanpolouia.

Auh in quenuan, quiçauecuia, in necuiltonolli: in tlaneçtli, in aquiçtli, in tlacatilotl, in tecutli, in tlaocolotl, in pilloli, in macuiçtl.

Fourth Chapter, which tells of the [rain-]god named Tlaloc, the prime.[13]

Tlaloc the prime. To him was attributed the rain; for he made it, he caused it to come down, he scattered the rain like seed, and also the hail. He caused to sprout, to blossom, to leaf out, to bloom, to ripen, the trees, the plants, our food. And also by him were made floods of water and thunderbolts.

And he was thus decorated: his face was thickly painted black, his face was painted with liquid rubber;[14] it was anointed with black; his face was [spotted] with [a paste of] amaranth seeds.[15] He had a sleeveless cloud-jacket of netted fabric; he had a crown of heron feathers; he had a necklace of green stone jewels. He had foam sandals, and also earrings. He had a plumed wand-banner.[16]

Jnic nauj capitulo, yeciqui tlamatia yn teotl, yn jquac tlaloc, tlamacazqui.

Tlaloc, tlamacazqui: yuin iquac mochoia, in quiiauitl: ca iehoatl quiiocoaia, quiiauaujaia, quiiaiauia, in quiiauitl, yuan in tecicuitl: quiocelotiuia, quiiecoloniaiotiuia, quiiauiuitiuia, quiicuepaltiuia, quiicaltiuia in quauitl, in çacatl, in tonacayotl. Yuan no iuoh tlaujtiuia, in tolinquiiloti, in tlauiaquiiloti.

Auh yeje: mochichioaia, tleiuiltiquetzalli, tleiuellaxilli, metlatiqui, izuiztihuiui, iuuichioaxiuhtic, xochicuicuiloaia, xiuhtzicuic, axtaxoua, chalchihuacoxqui, poçolcoqui, no ixtenile, axtapilpaua.

Fifth Chapter, which tells of the god named Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl).

Jnic macuiltli capitulo, yeciqui tlamatia yn teotl, yn jquac quetzalcoatl.

---

11. After the sacrifice of the impersonator, the image was carried in procession.—*Loc. cit.*

12. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 44) defines it as a sandy robe made entirely of precious feathers, worn over the xicolli (jacket) and the tzitzimitlatl (cape worn over the jacket); probably it was an open-like garment placed on the front of the idols.

13. Seler (*ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 46) says that Tezcatlipoca and Tlamacazqui mean "priest" and "priest." He himself considers *Tlaloc tlamacazqui* as "Regengott . . . , Regenpriester," in *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen wortgetreu übersetzt* (Cornelius Schnaubelt, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1927), Vol. I, p. 3.

14. Seler (*loc. cit.*): "*ein Gemisch eines Bindemittels mit klebrigem Kautschuk.*"

15. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 180; see also Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, pp. 440-4.

16. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 142.

776

Quetzalcoatl—he was the wind, the guide and road-sweeper of the rain gods,[17] of the masters of the water, of those who brought rain. And when the wind rose, when the dust rumbled, and it crackled and there was a great din, and it became dark and the wind blew in many directions, and it thundered; then it was said: "[Quetzalcoatl] is rumbling."

And thus was he bedight: he had a conical[18] ocelot-skin cap. His face was thickly smeared with soot. He was adorned with [spiral] wind and sunspoke symbols.[19] He had a curved, turquoise mosaic ear-pendant.[20] He wore a gold necklband of small sea-shells.[21] He had the quetzal-plumage as a burden on his back. He had ocelot anklets with rattles. He wore a cotton bone[-ribbed] jacket.[22] He carried the shield with the wind-shell design.[23] He had the curved [baleful] spear-thrower[24] and also fours sandals.

Quetzalcoatl: ye checcal yeoiconcauh yehehquecauh in tlalnepa, yn oceppa, yn quiyauhtzinti. Auh yn iquac mellaniya chocca, mjtoa: mahuiti quetzalcoa, yeoiconcauh, tlatlauhca, tlatlalpitza, tlatlacatiuj, mahuiztimotitia.

Auh yuja yn mochichioniz: ocelocopilli, mjxtlahpaqui, hecacocoiotzalli, quiyauhyecachtli, tzicuilochcacuechtli, tezcatlapechcuepalli, quemelcuallamamalli, ocelotzimitli, itpanmjcinxjli, hecacomachtzalli, hecacuyipa, no poyalcuepa.

Sixth Chapter: here are named the greatest goddesses who were worshipped as idols, whom the natives falsely revered as gods.

The savage Snake-woman (Cinteotl), ill-omened and dreadful,[25] brought men misery. For it was said: "She giveth men the law and temptation. Thus she forceth men [to work]."

And when she appeared before men, she was covered with chalk, like a court lady, with obsidian ear-plugs. She was in white, having garbed herself in white, in pure white. Her tightly wound hairdress rose like two horns above her head.

By night she walked weeping and wailing, a dread phantom foreboding war.[26]

And in this wise was her image adorned: her face was painted one-half red, one-half black.[27] She had a head-dress of [eagle] feathers[28] and golden ear-plugs. She wore a

Jnjc chiquacé capitule: vncan mocenca, yn oc cenca tlapaccjo yn cioatento: yn qujmomatitia, in quiyocuilaquiquixin yn ajcan tlacatl.

Cinteotl tequanj: yuan tetzauhtl, tetzauhzinj, ixmiotl quiyjnitilia: ca mjtoaia, vieli macopalli, quiyjmatcaia, ic tenextlatia.

Auh yuja: mocnjtitilia, motenoxtillania: ixhuqui tecpan cioatl, xonacochi, itzmacochi, itztiaco moquetza, itztiain actica, ixnacatla ycxia, itztaxicac, vel panj quiyquetza yn jaxaxtiuhca, yn jaxtlacatl,

ixnitica chocatimoca, tecicuhtimoca, no iauhcanajtl cenca.

Auh yuj yn mochichioniz yajtoia, yn jxnic, cuitlacochcihtic, cuitlacocoltic, yujquatzone, tencujtlanacochi, quechquene, mahuizcuepan.

---

17. Cf. Edward Seler: *Translation of the Aztec Collection* (London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, Ltd., 1901), pp. 42-3; and Juan de Torquemada: *Monarquia indiana*, Vol. II, pp. 47 and 52. The connection between Quetzalcoatl and the Tlaloc is illustrated in this passage (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 269): "*Este genero atribuia el vientо a un dios que llamaban Quetzalcoatl, how cual tenia dos de los vientos. Segun el viento de cuatro partes del mundo por mandamiento de este dios, segun ellos decian; de la una parte viene de hacia el oriente donde ellos dicen viue el paraiso terrenal al cual llamaua Tlalocan, (y) a este viento le llamaban tlahuiscpol; no se viento fuerte, cuando di sopla no impide (a) los demas andar por el agua.*"

18. Conical shape is not specifically implied, but the definition of *copilli* in Simeon (*op. cit.*) is mine. Furthermore, the conical cap is a distinguishing trait of Quetzalcoatl.

19. Wind-spiraling, according to Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 435; see also pp. 436 and 437). Parts of the costume, as illustrated, hint of the wind-deity—the serrated edges of the mantelet, for instance. Jehuier cf. Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (John Pharoazon, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

20. Edward Seler (*Ibid.*, p. 435) calls it "*ein dreieig gebrochenes Ohrgehänge*." In corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, writing more fully despite the Aztec text, says "*Traya, unas orejeras, de turquesas, de labor mosayco. . . .*" The word *tzicuilli* means turquoise used in mosaic work (Simeon, *op. cit.*).

21. The corresponding Spanish text of Sahagún reads: "*traya un collar de oro, de que colgaban, unas conchillas marinas, pequeñas.*"

22. See Edward Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

23. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text here "*una rodela, con una pintura, con cierto empedrado que llaman, el joel de viento.*" The term *ecatlahuilli* may be translated more literally as "shield with pendent duff" design. A bivalved shell design usually hung as a lower shield on representations of Quetzalcoatl; this same design appears on the shield. (See *Translation of Codex Borbonicus.*)

24. Corresponding Spanish text reads "*un cierto empedrador de espada.*"

25. Cf. also *tzitzimitzcatl*, species of snakes mentioned by Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. XI, p. 288), as named because "*mata con espanto.*"

26. This is explained in *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 281, 284.

27. See illustration, which indicates that the part of the face below the nose is black.

28. Seler translates this as eagle feathers. His citations from the Hymn of Cinteotl are confusing. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 4, p. 59.

776 cup-like ear-ornament. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[30] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[31] man's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[32] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had fume-sandals;[33] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Ixic chicome capitulo: vncan mitoaia, yn cioatl: yn jquac, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: inhuel ipan mjtoaia, quinjxipintiaia, in tonacaiotl: yuan in qua ilan yuanca, yiolca tonacatli, yejuc, yequalo.

Auh yuju yuancholtiloia catca; inhuehuetzia, amacalt, cuechcuipili, cuechcuetzi, no pepelocuqui, tonalchimalt, tonatiuhchimalt.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteo innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Toci).

Ixiic chicuei, capitulo: vncã mitoaia, yn cioatl, yn jquac: Teteo yenan: no mocuecuetzia, Tlalli yiollo, yuan Toçi.

She was the mother of the gods. Hîr devotees were
[759] physicians, healers, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

Ipuã catca yn teteo, quijnnemjlaja, in tiiçi, in
[791] tetemjquiqui, tetemaqui, tetlamapojlqui, tetepatiqui.

Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[34]

Auh yn cioa, temjmjxiquiqui, tepillalliqui, tetelcuiliqui, tlapouhqui, aclan tetzauj, tlatlachiuhqui, tocatlapouhqui, tetlacujcujliqui, tetlanecujlanqui, tetzacujlanqui.

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

No ihuanoio qujchichioloia, in temazcalouqui; ypampa y, quitlallilloia yn jxipila, in temazcalopan, quitocaiotiaia, temazcalzoci.

776 And when there was a feast, when it was time for the
796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteo innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They adored her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they caressed her. They wished her not to weep. They hid [her tears] from her;[35] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they hunted; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

Auh yn ipan ilhuj, yn jquac, yn jxipila: ajaua ca chicuei tonatiuh, yn jquac, yntequjzcalo cochcapetzcalo, tzontlis yuanca, quijujcuia, quijcuicuitiaia:

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huastecos,[36] who accompanied him on either side.

---

30. See Plate 39, which explains the name.

31. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section may refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

32. Cf. Edouard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 948.

33. Although Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 949) uses the term "fume," he cites Sahagún as referring to fleshers. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

34. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipomenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 295-96.

35. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 176.

36. Seler, *Ensayo Kapteel*, p. 4. Cf. also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 178, referring to the Toçi festival: "Iban delante de ella aquellos sus devotos que se llaman huastecos."

They were painted with white chalk, and with [marks like] hook scratches. They were naked, with a rope for a breech-clout. They carried on their backs a paper mirror-shaped cap, which had a protruding spindle, cotton flowers, and quetzal feathers.[37]

They brought him to Tezt's temple where they had placed [the impersonator's] skin upon a wooden bench.[38]

And the costume [of Tezcatlipoca] was as follows: there was liquid rubber on her lips and a circle [of rubber] on each cheek. She had cotton flowers.[39] She had a ball with palm strips. She had a shell-covered shirt, called a xuo-shirt. She had the xuo-skirt. Eagle feathers were strewn over her skirt—it was strewn with eagle [feathers]; it had white eagle feathers, painted eagle feathers. Her child had a golden disc in the center. She carried the medicinal herb, tzonicxitl. She used a broom; she carried a broom.

Ninth Chapter, in which one learns of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

[She was] represented as a woman. From her substance was made tzapotlatlo.

She healed men's bodies; those with itch of the head;[40] they who were known until the tzapotlatlo augment on the throat; [they used it] who had sores or pimples on the head;[41] or cracks in the skin of the face, lips, feet, hands, or legs; and when it was eaten, [it was used for] the intestinal sickness.[42]

Its oil and its bone were used to advantage in healing many places.

And when the four day was celebrated, they who sold the tzapotlatlo augment brought stones and slew them. They fashioned her image of a dough of amaranth [seeds] and maize.[43] Her old men sang for her; they bore the two-eared wooden drum, and the turtle-shell drum; they rattled rattles shaped like dried puppy-nosed gods,[44] and they rattled bone rattles.

Then was she arrayed: two spots were painted on her face; she had a paper crown; large drops of liquid rubber and small drops were sputtered over her paper crown, and it had quetzal feathers arranged to resemble rain-tassels. She carried the rain-tassel-headed.[45]

---

38. See Plate 6.

39. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 102, calls it pasta.

40. Cf. text and illus. in MS Biblioteca del Palacio, cited in Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, pp. 988-9, in which these are described as a head-band of coagulated cotton.

41. ". . . con manera, de bubas, o ámpo, que son, en la cabeza" (corresponding Spanish text).

42. ". . . con enfermedad . . . con mimos, que usan en la cabeza que se llama bubas" (loc. cit.).

43. See p. 41, n. 116.

44. Cf. Diego de Durán: Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme (Editor: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalona, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 107.

45. "Aderezabali, vestían hechos a manera de Arcoidenes" (Sahagún, op. cit.).

46. Cf. Eduard Seler: Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, p. 974, and Códice Fejérvári, p. 7—Nahuatl Ayauhtlatl (rain-tassel-head). The same author, cited in Sahagún, Historia general, Vol. V ("Los vestidos de los dioses"), says: "Este xuo (xuochimalli) significa evidentemente la misma cosa, aunque a una luz variable en el modo de presentarse, como adorno de cuadrados-escudo. Sirvió el instrumento para ennoblecimiento de la Rueda . . ." (pp. 97-8) ("El chimalli, fabrado de cuojo, instrumento musical que suena en la mano los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la ceremonia de los mantenimientos la Tzompachtli, llevan delante el xuochimalli, escudo de tzotzo. Es el instrumento mágico, con que

motiquiaque, motlatlacuiaque, qua yquehcahuiz, in 776
nemoaxcauitl: auecalli in quiyauia, mahuizcaquemilia, 796
ichcaxochitia, hiuiquemilia. [302]

'vaya cantando, in tetzitlan: quechtlapachco centlalia yn 776
jmaio.

Auh yuja: cochichiuia, mamaloqui, champochtli quiyecchichilli yn jxamapil ichcaxochitia, quimmala, cuechcuia, mecuechcaxtic: ic mjiua, cihtlilli yxca, cihtlalonia, quetzalli, tzomalihuqui yn jxipil, quechcomalihuqui, ixtac quetzalijo, quechcomitoque; yn jchimal, tzompilayotoque, tzocuitla, payaua, iuquijo.

Ninth Chapter, in which one learns of the goddess named the Goddess of Zapotlan (Tzapotlan tenan).

Juje chicuexiuj capitolo: tecua motenoua, yn cioatzol, yn jxca Tzapotlã tena.

Ca cioatl, iquac mjiuuia, yn cuitl yuacic mochiuia:

quiyolcuja yn tzoncoia, yn aquja quezcoztic), tzon- 776
mjiuuicuj, motzcoxcuitoja: chaquachiuj, quaquaxal, quiqui- 278
lui, cuxuxuxuj, tzoxopaxuj, tzoxopaxuj, ixtlamatiuj, 757
yuan in quahu, yn daxuhtichi):

yn jchiuuaca yn jxuxal vel cuicuxa tzoxopa.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiquiztlicia, yn cuicuxcoque, motlat- 776
cuiaia, tlacuxcjtoloia, quiyecmollotoia yn jxipila, quiyeje- 796
tzoia, yn jzcuiuaua, quiquexcuitlajoia, cuicuxcoquia, in
cuicuxpopoçtlia, cuicuxchilloia, cuexjchicuexchilloia.

Juje: cochichiuia cuxuxuia, cuxuia, cichcahuaxuxuj,
chachiquiztli yn jxamal, yuan quemichjuxuia, cuchi-
cuexca.

---

38. See Plate 6.

39. Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 102, calls it pasta.

40. Cf. text and illus. in MS Biblioteca del Palacio, cited in Seler, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, pp. 988-9, in which these are described as a head-band of coagulated cotton.

41. ". . . con manera, de bubas, o ámpo, que son, en la cabeza" (corresponding Spanish text).

42. ". . . con enfermedad . . . con mimos, que usan en la cabeza que se llama bubas" (loc. cit.).

43. See p. 41, n. 116.

44. Cf. Diego de Durán: Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme (Editor: J. M. Andrade y F. Escalona, 1867-80), Vol. II, p. 107.

45. "Aderezabali, vestían hechos a manera de Arcoidenes" (Sahagún, op. cit.).

46. Cf. Eduard Seler: Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Vol. II, p. 974, and Códice Fejérvári, p. 7—Nahuatl Ayauhtlatl (rain-tassel-head). The same author, cited in Sahagún, Historia general, Vol. V ("Los vestidos de los dioses"), says: "Este xuo (xuochimalli) significa evidentemente la misma cosa, aunque a una luz variable en el modo de presentarse, como adorno de cuadrados-escudo. Sirvió el instrumento para ennoblecimiento de la Rueda . . ." (pp. 97-8) ("El chimalli, fabrado de cuojo, instrumento musical que suena en la mano los dioses de . . . la Lluvia y del Agua. . . . En la ceremonia de los mantenimientos la Tzompachtli, llevan delante el xuochimalli, escudo de tzotzo. Es el instrumento mágico, con que

776 **Tenth Chapter, which tells of the goddesses [called] the Princesses (Cihuapilli).**[46]

[753] There were five deities, whose images were of stone. Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They have people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen—one's feet were deformed; one's hand trembled; one fainted [at the mouth]. Whence it was said, one had met and contended with the Cuapipiltin, who dwelt on the cross-roads. Wherefore fathers or mothers told their children: "Go not forth; the Cuapipiltin arrive on earth; they descend [upon us]."

776 796 And for this reason, when it was their feast day, they made them offerings of salt, folded tortillas called *tlamatzcalli*, heavenly-shaped tortillas called *papalotzcalli*, [others shaped like] sacrificial notched sticks (*temalli*),[47] small tamales called *necuchtlamatzcalli*,[48] and toasted grains of corn.

And then they offered all these, sometimes at the temple of the goddesses, sometimes at crossroads.

776 And they were thus bedight: they had their faces whitened with chalk, and, over this, darkened with liquid rubber. Their paper garments were covered with painted figures. They had sandals decked with feathers.

Eleventh Chapter: which tells of the goddess named the Jade-skirted (Chalchiuhtli ycue), who was [goddess of] the waters.

She was considered a god[dess]; her likeness was that of a woman. It was said that she belonged among the rain-gods, as their elder sister.

Hence she was esteemed, feared, and held in awe; hence she terrified men. [For] she killed men in water, she plunged them in water as it foamed, swelled, and formed whirlpools about them; she made the water swirl; she carried men to the depths.

She spun the canes, she squirted it; she lifted it, tossed it up and plunged it in the water.

And sometimes she sank men in the water; she drowned them. The water was restless: the waves roared; they dashed and resounded. The water was wild.

When it calmed, when it quieted, it heaved to and fro; it was said, "It playeth; it billoweth, it splasheth like the stamping of feet; the water maketh the shore, spraying water and foaming."

Juic matlactli, capitulo: ynnehpa tlamo, yn cioatzin, cioapilli:

Diosdesas omo y, nenonjtin, omo yn jnintzitzimes; inmoch chanchin, quihtoah teteuhtin, nen nenonoa, ynjc nen inmoch quijxoaia chanchiuhtoni, tenenepilhoj, ipeuhcahoj, nenenolhoj, ixtlacpichoaj, ixtlacpajqui, nenenenetoma, tenpachcquiqui: ic mjtoaia nenenenetoli, ypan cquiquac cioapilli, ytoatzin chanaque. Jjcuaque y yn ixtoca, ynnqo tetzaui, quimilhuiaia yn jquiltzin: nenca xenquiza chalpan ati, xenca in cioapilli.

Auh ipampa y, yn ipan ynnjlhuiah, ynjc quimolnamjctia: chamaxtilli, papalotlxaxilli, xonecjli, nenechtlamaxtilli, inquil.

Auh yn xenca nemoua y, in quenmo xenca yn cioatzinco, in quenmo, xenca:

Auh yn jnnechichiual cenca, mjtoiquiqui: auh yuoj chalchiuhtli, chalchiuhxoxoltetl, chalchiuhxilli, yn jnnenahuacan, panenecapoque.

Juic matlactli xen capitulo: ynnehpa tlamo, yn cioatzin, yn jnnen chalchiuhtli ycue: inhuan yn atl.

Teotl ipan nechcio: inhuipin cioatl quiquiztiaia, inh mjtoaia, quimach yenca yuoj, inmehuan in tlalnepa:

ynic nenenilhuia, ynic innecaqui, ynjc nenchcaiotia, ynjc chanchiuhtia, tenteuhtia, nenhuiquixtia, tepolactia, tepan poçonja, tenepanoqui, nenixtia, tepan nenecjlacachoa, ynjc tenenhuiquiza:

yn acalli quiçoaya, quiçolquechcaqui, quenmjnoua, ca xen neiuoj, ca tema.

Auh in quenma tepachoa, tepetzonja, nenoiotia, tlaxaxa nenenacatzinoa, nenenenetoma, huihuetzoa:

yn jquac nenoh, yn ic ceuj, nejc inioch: quijxo, nenoiotia, tlaiquiqui, nenenetoa, nenoh inch nenenhuiloca, nenenhuihuiquiza, nenpopoquiqui.

---

se hace desmender [sic] . . . El chicomatli es el que dicimos de los fustibales y, los dedos, modernos instrumentos indígenas con que se arrojan dardos (pp. 129-30).

46. See Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 194-5; Vol. II, pp. 101-3. Seler (*Collected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 2, p. 30, and pp. 3, p. 189, and Vol. II, pp. 1, pp. 49, 88) *ibid.*, holds that Cihuapilitin (the princesses) are the same as Cioatzitzin (the goddesses)—women who died in childbirth (*mocihuaquetzque*) or on the accursed xococ, and hence were the equivalent of warriors killed in battle or offered up as sacrifices. Seler describes them as spirited male-goddesses who descended to the earth in the guise of eagles. As equals of warriors, they were escorted to certain warriors' paradise—eagle knights and down warriors, for instance. They were thought to dwell in the west, and to incite men to sin and crime.

47. Are Sahagún cakes, made to resemble lightning.—Seler, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 2, p. 47.

48. Folded tortillas in the form of square flakes, according to Seler, *Einige Kapitel*, p. 8.

Auel vlan (ihuan vnn) no vitoā, in vnn ceāc; the water spread like a mirror, glistening, glittering.

Auel vlan her feast was celebrated, in the month of Etzalqualiztli, the eating of boiled corn,[45] then was celebrated the feast of the rain-gods.

They placed her image upon a framework; they put a skirt upon her, and a shirt; they placed jewels upon her—a plumed headpiece, from which hung a golden disc.

Auel vlan they offered her offerings and the first priests came out to receive her. They strewed ceremonial herbs before her.

With the cords heard of the rain and rain gods, they spoke. The city elders, her singers, sang for her.

Auel vlan they drew her impersonator—a slave woman, brought and set forth by those who guarded their livelihoods as water-carriers—those who brought in water, who fetched water in canoes; those who owned canoes; those who worked in irrigation ditches; and those who made canoes in the market-place, those who sold water for refreshment.[46]

Likewise they escorted her, made offerings, and ceremonied her. For she would go, when they drew her, to a place called Tlaloccan. In the temple of the Tlaloc, they opened her breast.

Then Motecuçoma paid great honors to [the goddess]. Before her image, he offered incense and drew quail.

Then they said: "The chief quieteth rain; he doth a great deed for his people." And giving thanks, they then paid honor to the women.

[For] they remembered that because of her we [may] live. She is our sustenance. And thence come all things that are necessary.

In the same manner they paid honor to the image of corn's sustenance, called Chicomo cuatl; and to the image of the sun [-goddess], named Uitzilopochtli. Thus they remembered what they had done; thus they honored the three.[47]

For indeed, through them the peasant earned his livelihood. Thus might he be sustained; thus, in truth, might he live.

Auel vlan was she dedicated: she was painted yellow and blue; she was painted blue about the lips and on her face.[48] She wore a green-stone necklace; she had turquoise [mosaic] earplugs. She had a blue paper cap with a sprig of quetzal feathers. Her shirt and her skirt were painted like water. She bore a shield ornamented with water lily leaf and flowers. She carried the rain-rattle-staff,[49] which she sounded. She went from outside.

Auh yn jquac ualo ahcaçel, tlamattimanj, ennentitimanj, [776]
polocatimanj, tzacuiocatimanj.

Auh yn jquac ilhuiqujtitiaia, çan no iquac yn ezalqualiztli: yn vncan ilhuiqujtitiaia tlaloque, [796]

[805]

[778]

ceāuitl in quichichioaia yniqtla: quicuitiaia, quiqujpāltiaia, quiçacuitiaia, cuecuepōtiaia, inuh pilcatiuh cuetic teucujtlaconetli:

ynnen quichimaujtiaia, quiçananiquj yn jtlenamacacauh, ytzahuāl, iquan quinpeuhtlia,

cuicuichicaoa ilhuitiomj, quicujcuia in calpoleque, yoyocaoque.

Auh in uel iniqtla, ynnen mjquja: tlaconēl cioatl in quiçoaia, inhuan quiçacuitiaia, yn anamacaque: yn atl yc motlaiocaltia, yn acalhica aalcuj, yn acaleque, yn apanalaca: ynnen acalquetzque tlenquiaca, in quinechiltia atl. [567] [463]

No ioā quichichioaia, no ioā quitlamamacaia, no ioā quiçacuaoia: ioā tlaoltoja: in miquja, ytocaiocan tlalocan: yn vncan ioāquen, tlaloque, quoltequja.

Ja jquac y, no ynnen quinaxitiliaia, yn motecuçoma: iquan tlamamatia, yn jniqtla, quitlacotonjjia,

ioā quiçoaia: quinoāhuitlatiaj in tlacatl, quitlamacehuja yn jmacaual: ynnen vncan mocuēlilmatj, ynjc quimahujztiliaia atl:

quihuanjquja, ca ic tiomj, ca tzonoca: ynnen ic muchioa, yn ixquich tetech monequj.

No ioā quinaxitiliaia, yn jztpila tlaocāuiotl, yn jtoca, chicomo cuatl; yoā yn jztpila itzatl, ytoca Vitzilopochtli: ic quihuanjquja; yn je tlamanjmi:

ca uel ynnenca muchioa in nacoualli, ic vel nemj. [776]

Auh yuju, in ezahuāhioaia: mozaoia, tzoalca, motexcalhoa, tzontzacuilhuj, ololcuāhuacuque, cuahuacuchi, tzontzacuchi, quecuelonjiaoaia, atlacujlolhuipili, atlacujlolhuiquilla, atlacujlolcueie, atlacuequanchimala, cuahlacuaqe, cuculaca; paquiaque.

---

45. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 148): "este mesáli era hecho de unos montes, a manera de sierra, y era muy amarillo." Durán (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 209): "el mesáli estaba por el cabo llenecido pendiendo para a manera de arcabuzado con frijol (sic) le llamaban etzalli."

46. Corresponding Spanish text of the Florentine Codex reads: ". . . la fomentaban . . . todos aquellos, que tienen sus granjerias, en el agua assi los que venden agua, en las canoas y los que venden agua, en tiendas, en la plaça. . . ."

47. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . porque dizian, que assi se les davian mantenimientos, e la gente pujaban para que pudiesen, viuir, y mantenerse."

48. Corresponding Spanish text: ". . . la pintauan, de azul, con color amarilla. . . ."

49. Corresponding Spanish text: "Traia en la mano, derecha, un vaso, con tres cosas hechas a manera, de la coronilla, en que se lleua el sustento, quando van sobre la lleua y un cetro verde, donde dizen." See p. 3, note 44. See also Illustrations of Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaquiltenan woman.

776 **Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of the Goddess of Vice (Tlaçolteotl).**[33]

Tlaçolteotl was also called Ixcuina, and also Tlaelquani. As to the name Tlaçolteotl: it was said that it was because her realm was that of evil and perverseness—that is to say, lustful and debauched living. It was said that she ruled and was mistress of luxury and debauchery.

776 551 And as to her name Ixcuina: it was said there were four women—the first named Tiacapan (the older sister), the second Teicu (the younger sister), the third named Tlaco (the middle sister), the fourth named Xocotzin (the youngest sister).[34] These four women, it was said, were god-[desses]. These, each separately, were called goddesses of luxury (Tlaçolteotes).

And as for her being called Tlaelquani:[35] it was said it was because one told, one placed before her, all vanities; [783] one told, one spread, before her all [one's] unclean works—however ugly, however grave; avoiding nothing because of shame. One exposed all before her, [and] made one's confession in her presence.

776 It was said: evil and perverseness, debauched living—these Tlaçolteotl offered, inflamed, inspired. And likewise she forgave. At her whim, she removed the corruption; she cleansed; she washed. In her hand lay the [cleansing] green [783] and yellow waters.[36]

And thus she pardoned; thus, at her whim, she removed the corruption. In her presence confession was made; before Tlaçolteotl the heart was opened; before her one recited, 793 one told one's sins.

776 783 And her warden[37]—he who saw for her—was a seer,[38]

Jnic matlactli vmome capitulo: ytechpa tlatoa yn tlaçolteotl.

In tlaçolteotl: yuan itoca ixcujna, yuan itoca tlaelquanj. Jnic mononcaiotia tlaçolteotl, qujl ipampa, qujl inhuetl yiuicac, ytlaquj, ynech pouj, in tenhuelj, in tlaçalli: in qujnamiquj, ovilnamjlizti, qujl ipan tecmi, ypan tlamacaxi, yn nujlnamjlizpol.

Auh ynjc itoca, ixcujna: qujl naviuj ecah, in ciua: ynjc ce ytoca tiacapan, ynjc vme, ytoca teicu, ynjc ey, itoca tlaco: ynjc nauj itoca xocotzin. Jnjque hin, naujnin ciua: qujl teoua. Jnjque hin, cenniuca ytoca: tlaçolteoua.

Auh ynjc monocaiotia tlahelquanj: qujl ipampa, inin[ip]á nujoa, inijpan nopan, yn jnqujch nenquilli: ilnpan nujoa, nemelaoa, yn jnqujch tlahellachiualli: inmomal cenca tenamaxtiui, ic'mamal cenca onjc: atle nopinaviuicaoa, vel nuchi, ilnpan neci, inpan nujoa. Neixhuelaoalizli.

Quimach in tlaçalli, in tenhuelj, in nujlnamjlizioil: inhuetl quiyeuaca, ic tenuela, ic tehiptica in tlaçolteotl. Auh çan no inhuetl, quiyepollaja: inhuetl chica, tlamac quiyica, quiyeca: inhuetl, tepapaca, tehalxic: inhuetl imac nauj yn matlalxil, in tenpalxil.

Auh injc quiyepopollaja ynjc chica, tlamamc, quiyica, quiyeca: ilnpan neixcuitilo, ilnpan neixhuelaoalo, yn tlaçolteotl, ilnpá nopan, nujoa, in tehchiual.

Auh ilx, ynecac, ytlacaccauh nuchiua, in tlapoalaqui, in

---

33. The chapter on Tlaçolteotl is not included in *MS Academia de la Historia* nor *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*. Hence it is not among translations in Seler's *Ensayo Kapitel*, nor, probably, elsewhere.

34. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *Translation of the Aubin Collection*, p. 93: "It is the goddess who is by the interpreters called Ixcuiuae, 'she of the two faces' or 'of two-colored face,' and Tlaçolteotl, 'Goddess of Dirt,' and is explained as goddess of lust, of sensual love, and as possessress of adulteress. . . . She, this goddess, or these goddesses—for under the designation Ixcuiuae, she was thought of as in the plural number, and, indeed, as stated by Sahagún in his first book, as four sisters of different age—was the deity who according to this legend, introduced the peculiar kind of sacrifice which was offered to the earth—the throwing to death with arrows." The names of these four sisters were common girls' names. See p. 41.

35. Name of filth or of sickness (Seler: *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94). Sahagún's corresponding Spanish is "*remedora de cosas sujias.*"

36. *Cf.* Edward Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 57, discussing Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl: ". . . the water . . . is not only emblematic of the vegetability and evanescence of earthly being, in that it sweeps away all things, but is also the symbol of purification and cleansing; it removes filth, which is sin. Thus speaks the midwife when four days after its birth she subjects the child to a ceremonious washing: 'My son, come unto thy Mother, the Goddess of Water, *Chalchiuhtlicue*, bring this element of the fire which does hurt of thy father and thy mother.' . . . 'My son, come to thy Mother, the Father, the Lady *Chalchiuhtlicue*, the Lord *Chalchiuhtlatonac* . . . wash the water, the blue (*Matlalxi*), the yellow, (*Tzapalxi*), may it wash thee, may it cleanse thee perfectly, may it take from thee the evil which thou hast from the beginning of the world, which clings to thee from thy father, from thy mother.'" Sahagún (*Historia general*, Vol. II, pp. 191-2), wrote ". . . *creyeron ser que la partera cenba a la diosa del agua llamada Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatonac, y dezia así: 'Sabed vosotros Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatonac, vosotros he a vosotros presentado este criatura: rogaos que la recibais.' Dicho esto la partera tomaba el agua echaba sobre ella en remedio, y luego la daba a gustar a la criatura y tambien la mesaba el pecho con ella, y el colodrio de la cabeza, a manera de cruzado se ponia el dicho y criatura a los cielos, y diziendo de esta manera: 'Hija mia muy amada,—y de esta suerte: dezia, hija mia muy amada—, Reciben a vosotros madre y padre los señores Chalchiuhtlicue y Chalchiuhtlatonac; alcanse ella, porque ella es la de Llover a criaturas; y en las bragas en este mundo.' Y luego metia en el agua a la criatura, y dezia: 'Entre hija mia—en el agua, que es llamar Matlalxi y Tzapalxi; llevase en ellas, limpiase ella que está en todo lugar, y tenga por bien de apartar de vos todo mal que traiis con vos desde antes del principio del mundo.'*" Seler (*loc. cit.*) establishes a connection between Chalchiuhtlicue and Tlaçolteotl. In the fifth week of the *Translation of the Aubin Collection*, which is ruled over by Chalchiuhtlicue, the water goddess holds the head of Tlaçolteotl in her hand. In the *Codex Borbonicus* for the corresponding fifth week, a stream of water issues from the thorax of the water goddess and in the current is the headdress of Tlaçolteotl. These two illustrations mentioned Seler's remarks on the relationship between the two.

37. See Sahagún: *Florentine Codex*, Lib. VI, cap. xiii (*text, manuscript*); also *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 209.

38. See Chap. VIII. Seler (*Ensayo Kapitel*, p. 3) uses the term *Lebendverbrenner*.

the diapenhqui, who is reading the sacred almanac which lay in his hand, with the picture [writing], the ink, [and] the colors for painting; the knowledge, the wisdom which hath been entered.[59]

The penitent who would confess first explained to the seer; he said unto him:

"I wish to go to the master, our lord, the savior and protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca,[60] in secret. I wish to have this for myself."

The soothsayer said: "There hast been given this favor."

He interpreted him when he should come; he chose a favorable time. He saw, in his sacred almanac, what day was good, favorable. It was said: he hath chosen the time.

And when the appointed time [came] he[61] bought a new mat, and incense, and wood. [If he was] a highly honored penitent, he made his confession in his own house; the seer went down. Or penitents went to him.

He swept well the place where the new mat was placed, and a fire was lit. Then the seer cast the incense into the flames. He addressed the fire; he said:

"Mother of the gods, father of the gods, old god, here hath come a man of low estate. He cometh here weeping, sad, anguished. Perhaps he hath sinned; perhaps he hath erred, perhaps he hath lived in filth. He cometh heavy-hearted; he is sorrowful. Master, our lord, protector of all, thou take away, pacify, the torment of this man."

Then the seer spoke unto him who would confess; he said unto him:

"There hast come toward the god, protector of all, and [into] his presence. Then hast come to tell him, to deliver thyself of, thy evil concupiscence, thy corruption. Then hast come to open thy secrets.

"Take care that thou commit no fault or sin. Take off thy clothing; show thy nakedness to the god, protector of all, our lord Tezcatlipoca.

"Perhaps, being a man, thou wilt not see the god; perhaps he will not speak to thee, being a man; [for] he may not be seen nor touched.

"And so, in this manner, thou cannot [to the god], uncover thy secrets, tell thy way of life, thy deeds, in whatever way thou art moved, in whatever manner it is, whatever thou hast done, whatever thou hast achieved, whatever thou dost which [is] evil and sinful.

"Overturn, pour forth thy vices, thy wrongdoing; [expose] thy evil odor, thy corruptness.

"And let our lord, protector of all, have pity on thee—

tlamatiuj, yn jmuc mattj, yn amatlj, yn tlacujlolli: in quijxiq 776
yn dilli, yn tlapalli, yn metlia, yn pixia, yn mamalia, yn 793
oquijxo 783

yn mojolmaloaya in tlapilchiuhca; achco quijtlacaquijxia in tlapouhqui, quijlhuja.

Ca yeuhxinco njmixtimoqui, yn tlacatl, yn tetecuja, in tloque nanaque: in tetecuja, yiiollj, yn tlacatl, yxquixic, yyollocachiuja, njtetecuitimoqui.

Quijlhuja in tlapouhqui: ximocuecuelili:

quijxocotia, yn iquja ocallac: quijquixtia in xoiollj, quixtia [787]
yn jmuxe, yn jtlacuxjtol: quixtia, yn iquja quallj xoiollj, yn
ixcuic, in qualcac: mjtoa: quimolquixtia.

Auh yn ie yquac, in ie yxcuitilpan, ixcuic petlatl quicua: yoan copalli, yoan quauxjl: yn tlamatini in tlamacehqui, çan ichan yn moiolmalcac, in vmpa iuh in tlapouhqui. Auh anoce vmpi iuh, in tlamacehqui:

ixcuic petlatl in motta, vellachtia yn vncan motlalia: [788]
yoan tlotlalito: ajnan copalli contena in tleco in tlapouhqui,
quijxotia in tlol; quijlhuja.

Teteu yxtica, teteu yxtia, teteu tzatzi, ajcoc callactia, in cujtlapilli, yn atlapalli, yn macuxolli: ajcan chocatiuja, tlacuxtiuja, motecpanhtiuja, ancan omalaxih, ancan omocpolanj, ancan oquijxuiuja yn vicalloti, in tecuxxolli, yn çacanjxi: aqui ixtlacoa, quixquijpachoa, Tlacatle, tetecuja, tloquahe nanaque, mocuepa ximocuxti, in ximocuepaxi, yn jmetlamachtilo yn macuxolli.

Ninan quijxotia, yn moiolmalcahqui, in ixhuxi tlapouhqui: quijlhuja.

Tlaxlamiccatia yujxtiuca, ilpantiuca, in tloque nanaque; tlamollujtica, tlamocuepaxtica, yn mjtoca, in nopalaca: tlamelaquillujtica, in mocuj, inmopolocuj,

a no no cuppa ich njcan tlaxamiuj, tlamopexiuj: no ipampatzinco ximopaxtlaua, ximocuepaxiuj, in tloque, nanaque, in tetecuja, in iuolli, in tlacatl.

A cujx tictlacaxtiua in tetecuja, a cujx mjtztlacamatiua: in iuolli, in tlacatl.

Auh yeja quen tiujxi, ma xictlapa in mocuj, in mopolocal: ma xicpoa in motecujtic, in motlachtiual, yvic quenja tlamati, yvic quenja cah: in quenja machtiah, in quenja tac; in quenja tictlaah, in mocuepal, in mocuepaxtiuc:

ximocuj, xicpolinj, in maiectica, in mocpalitica, in mjtoca in nopalaca.

Auh ximotlamachtiuhtzilli, yn tetecuja, in tloque nanaque,

---

59. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, loc. cit., and Schuller, *Historia general*, loc. cit.

60. Cf. corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67, and Vol. II, p. 71, gives as meanings of *yaotli*, *tlacatl* (1) "enemigo, diablo y bárbaro"; and (2) "don invisible de hombre . . . inexplicable, y fortaleza y valentía y independencia, por cuya virtud todos vivan. . . ." Angel María Garibay K, *Llave del náhuatl* (Otumba, Editorial n. p., 1940), p. 111, translates *tloque nanaque* as "que está cerca y junto" —the one, God in general.

61. Context suggests that penitent refers to the penitent.

776 who, stretching forth his arms to them, embraceth them and
783 encircleth them upon his back."
793 "By doing: he was timid because of shame; he was
ashamed."

[627] Then the penitent [swore an oath to call the truth, by] touching earth, and cast incense upon the fire. Thereupon he seated himself before the confessor and spoke—for [the one] was the representative, the deputy, the likeness [of the goddess]:

"Our lord, possessor of all, because these penitent acts—evil odor, my vices, I take off my clothing and uncover, in thy presence, my nakedness—[that is,] the things I have taken, the things that I have done. Can these things be hidden and darkened, when they are collected and clear in thy sight?"

Then he began [the tale of] his sins—whatsoever he had done; as if he were offering a song, proceeding thus, talking, doing it as if he were following a road. Much [in that way] he followed [the tale of] his sins. So he proceeded.

785 And when he ended his words, then had he told all his
776 sins.
Then entered the sun, the warrior [of the god];
783 he said unto him:
793 "Behold, thou hast spoken to the god; thou hast offered him thy deeds and thy misdeeds.

"And behold, this thou shalt do. When the Ceaxipiltzi descend, when the feast of the Ceaxipiltzi or the Incensers is celebrated,[48] thou shalt fast four days. Thou shalt scorch thy entrails; thou shalt parch thy lips.

"And when it is the day of the feast, at night thou shalt pierce thy tongue with straws and maguey spines. With these thou shalt thus repent thy sins. Thou thus dost prayer in blood.

"And thou shalt pass those straws, as many as they be, whether straws or maguey spines. And thou shalt pass those straws either through thy ears or through thy tongue.

"And thou shalt thus pass the straws through thy tongue; but take care lest thou do penance only in vain habit. Rather [thou shalt do it] to expiate thy sinful life; thou shalt offer blood for thy sins; [therefore] shalt thou break open thy tongue, inserting [the straw] from in front of that.

"When thou drawest it through, thou shalt cast it down behind thee, either each one [alone] as thou takest it out; or else thou shalt gather them, binding them together, even four hundred [of them], even eight hundred of the straws, which thou shalt have passed through thy tongue.

"Thus shalt thou cleanse thyself of thy faults and thy sins."

---

48. Cf. Note 36.

49. See Cap. X. The Ceaxipiltzi were thought to be souls of children who descended to earth in the form of rain; they lasted only in the rainy season.

And if the rise of the precious was only light, [the priest] said unto him:

"Thou shalt punch thy lips, thou shalt fast, thou shalt observe thy custody for four days."

Or else he said unto him:

"Thou shalt sing and dance [for the goddess]; thou shalt hang rubber-spotted papers [as offerings] and fashion images [for her]."

Or else, he said unto him:

"Thou hast done wrong, truly, with wine. Thou shalt satisfy the gods of wine, the Tzoalcin."

And he thus commanded him, and said unto him:

"When thou goest, when thou dost thy penance at night, thou shalt take nothing with thee. Thou shalt go naked. Thou shalt gird thy loins with paper painted with painted figures,[84] spreading one piece behind thee [and one] at thy feet.

"And when thou shalt return, thou before our lords, the gods, thou shalt cast off thy paper skin."

And when he had done his penance, then he went to his house.

Thus in the end he changed to a good life. It was said that if he were to sin again—as it was said,—no longer might he gain mercy therefor.

It was said that they said only of great wantons, great evildoers, adultery, [and only] the aged so spoke.

Thus the aged confessed—it was said—that they might not be punished here on earth for their sins; if they were adulterers, so that their heads might not be pierced, or beaten with stones, [therefore] they confessed.

The soothsayers, before whom were laid [men's] sins, somehow spoke of what had been placed before him, of what had been said in secret.

For what was said in secret was not for him, but was given and said in secret to the god. And him mortal men might not see.

Thirteenth Chapter, which treats of the little gods—the lesser [ones],[85] who were considered the very old gods.

Turquoise Lord (Xiuhtecutli)—the yellow-faced one, the holy flame. This one was known as fire, [as] the old god, [as] our father.

He was thought a god, considering that he learned one, he counseled one, he watched the fields. And for many purposes he was useful; for [with fire, then] one was warmed, things were cooked on a plate, things were cooked in a pot, pottery was fired, salt was learned, syrup was boiled, charcoal was learned, the lime was learned; things were fired,

Auh inin qui nica, yn ylpiyãhuiã, tlamaxahuiyo: 785
quiñuia,
tlacuxcuxoa, titlacatlaquaa, tlamatlacolyoa, 776
xaquiñuia: 783
axcan quiñuia 793
tlatoa, tlacuxcuxoa, tiquipia:

axcan quiñuia.
ca nel ycel, yn ipan ontlamatqui, tiquipaquiz in
tonchin.
Auh quiñuia, yuiz quiyaoa:
yn ipan tlen, yn tlamaxaca inchtca, ach mocuch
tacatlan, tiquitlahtlan: yn tomaxac, amol tlatzacapoalli in
mantia: cuxtol mjcampa, tecuitlampa, mantia.

Auh yn jquac tlealtacaqui, vmpa tzontlan yn
jnxiquan tetecujcan, yn tetzu, yn tomaxac.
Auh yn jquac ollamacoh, ajcan ealoh yn jchan:

ic cemanjan, mocuepaltocaqui: quimach inic oc cepa
tlaltacac, quil ca ascmo tlacatilma.

Quimach qui yio uey nequalli, uey nequaquiztli, in
tetlamalliztli: in quiquia vncequi.
Juiz motlatolcuaia tzontequi: quimach, ihcuol, yuiz ano
tlacuchilcauaz, ajcan tlalnepaz, yn jxcopichtlacol: yuala [684]
motlayini yuiz ano quauhxalchiuhtiz, yuiz ano quauhpinauhtiz,
yuiz ano quauhtzontemalin, motlatlacaz.
In tlapanahuiz, yn jxquan tlalitz, tlapiltzinalli: qui ajcan
ocan quiçaz, in ilcan ixquan tlalitz, in tlein ilhuiz:

ipampa in ano ixh yn jlhuiz, in nemattalo, in tlequi, in
nenequi, in mauiz, in jlhuiz, in tlapiltzinalli: in ano ixh
mauiz, in nemattli.

Juiz matlactli vnuey capitulo: ynuchpa tlatoa, yn 776
tepiton tonalti: yn quiquimilhia, yn cenquizilhuia, yn
tepiton tonalti.

Xiuhtecutli: tecuçauhqui, yoan cuexpalnixi. Ihcuol nauhcampa in itoal, ynuchpa ynic mjxiti yoan ixic:

auel ipan machtia: ixhtica, in tetlatia, tepiltia, mixhtlahuia, tlachiuaz: yoan mjac tlamantli, yuiz tlacatiliz: in
ic nemiliz, in tlapouaz, in tlacuxtiliz, in tlamiz, in imolinilliz,
in tecuitlatiliz, in tecuitlatiz, in tomaxtiliz, in tlacuxcuxtia,
yn tlacuxcuxtia, in tlachcuauhtia, yn tetlacuchiliz, in tomaxcalchia, in tetlatiliz, in tlamantiliz.

---

84. The most characteristic emblem of Tlaloc-tzi is a house wrapped with a chia-pinioth—paper impressed with painted figures (see Codex Borbonicus, records of Octocatlalli). The paper lets death is an emblem of this same purpose. Probably the figure were by the goddess in the illustration (Plate 12) is a good indication of the design of the lets cloth.

85. Corresponding Spanish text here: "que son menores en dignidad que los arriba dichos."

776 cooked, and roasted in a pot, one roasted [on the fire]; sweet breads were heated, sinews were cooked, things were dressed.

776 796 And when his feast day was celebrated, once a year, at the end of the month of Izcalli, they made an image of Macuilxochitl; before it quail were sacrificed and incense was set forth.

[262] *Tamales* [stuffed] with greens[66] were prepared in each dwelling. First they were placed before the fire. Then they were eaten.

[534] And all day his old men sang, blew trumpet-shaped shells, beat drums, and sounded rattles for him.

And no one might reach his arm to the bowl, which was forbidden; nothing might be cooked. Because first were eaten the *tamales* [stuffed] with greens which had been brought as offerings.

And, in live coals, the children[67] roasted some mudsh, frogs, small white fish, water lizards, [and] birds—whatever kind of small animal they hunted, they dropped in the hearth. Then, they said: "Our father roasteth [something] for himself."

And when night fell, the old men, the old women, drinking wine, made libations in all [four] directions. [And] they said thus: "They give a taste of it to the fire; they refresh themselves."[68]

[535] And every four years a festival was greatly honored by him—when Macuilxochitl danced a princely dance before the temple of Xiuhtecutli, which was called Tezcacoac.[69]

[273] And at this time everyone [including] all the children, every one of them, tasted the wine. Thus it was called [the time when] the children drink wine.

[608 431] And then they gave the children tuzles and canes, a man [and] a woman, whom those with children sought out and gave gifts. Those took [the children] upon their backs, and carried them then to the temple of Izcuinpalnqui. Then [the parents] pierced their ears; then they placed a sign upon them, while their tuzles and canes[70] looked on. Afterwards all feasted.

[304 852] 776 [Izcuinpalnqui's] appearance was [then]: black was smeared about the lower part of his face. About his head he bore a circlet set with green stones; he wore a paper crown with blue cotinga feathers and a spray of quetzal feathers; he had a crown of tiresoftales; a crown of spun shells;[71] he had

Auh yn iquac ilhuiçpeoaliztli, omixtlatoa: ipan ihçuiçan yeualli: quiçiqhuixtoia in tamalcuyonca, iquac tlacamacoloia, cipaltomoliloa,

auhcuçiçiuhcauh auhxitlitoia, in tecomacpan: achto iquac quiçaxoçtoia in tlel, quenqua quaqua.

Auh yn ixcuiconeuh, iuh cuecuechtli, in quiçaxoçtoia, quiçaxoçtiquitoia, quiçaxoçcuiltiquia, cuicuxtlilloquia:

auh ahuc ual ciltamquia in cuecuex, axtlacuxtlitoia, yniqui ayac aca mochiuh, mochichiuac: iquampa in ixcuiconeuh cuecuechtli, yniqui achcauhtin.

Auh in pipiltzintli, mochitoia quiçahuaquiçia: yn axe cuecuex: axolotl, acuiçli, axolotl, uexolotl: in yaqui chiac acuecuex iuhtli, yyamac: cuecuepcin in tlacuçili: in aquenin, cuecuepcin yn axe.

Auh yn ciuaque, acuiçan chichimecatin in teteuaque, yhuampan: iuh quiçaxoia, quiçaxoxouiçtlia yn tlal, cuecuexcuiçia.

Auh cuecuexcuexe, yn ax axaxa, axaxaxtlitoia, ilhuiuh: ipan axaxaçiçtoia yn axaxaquaxtin, iquac yn ipouhcauh, xiuhtecutli, yeuacicoac axaxaxtin.

Auh in iquac ley, ual axaxaxtiuhcauh, ual ax iuquiçh ciuaxtl, quiçahuaxia, quiçihuaquia, in uetli, in pipiltzintzitzi: in axaxaxtzintzin, pilloaxtzin:

yeuh uetli quiçahuiztoia, quiçaxoxouiçtoia in pipiltzintzitzi. Ca ciuatl, in aquiçhuli, in quiçaxoxouia pilloaquan, quiçahuahuia; inhuantin quiçaxoxouiçtoia, ynupa quiçaxoxouiçia, yn iuhquin izcuinpalnqui: ynupa quiçaxoxouiçtoia, quiçaxoxouiçtia: iuhquin in quiçaxoxouiçtoia, yniqui quiçaxoia, yeuhcauh, yeuhcuiçtoc quenqua tlaquaxtli.

In ixachihtzintzitzi cuexe: tlilliza xoxouiçtoc, chichiltzitzcuxtli, xiuhxoxouhcuexcuexin, quetzalmiçtzitzin, mitznene, tlacoxoxouhcuexcuexin, xoxouhcuexpanxuchtli, yn tzitzilin, cuexpalin, xiuhxoxouhtzitzquiquiçtli yn pilcuexcuexin, tlachichiltzquixin.

---

66. "Una de las fiestas que se hacían cerrados es llamar huauhquilitl, que son hierbas, o cosa verde, como las cosas dichas pibiles y chiles, como las frisas cruchadas. Las tales de esta hierba se llaman huauhquili y la semilla se llama de la misma manera; esta hierba se cuece para comer, sola o cocida, empiezan del agua que se cuece para comerse; hierven tamales de esta hierba los cuales se llaman quilton." Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 231. On p. 196, *huauhquilitl* is defined as *Atriplex* or *Sagina huauhtzontecomae Amaranthus*.

67. In the corresponding Spanish text, the children's presents burned and roasted there animals. In the *Historia* general, Vol. I, p. 297, Sahagún writes that the old men received the animals from the children as offerings and threw the offerings in the fire.

68. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 298; see translation in footnote 66, ed.

69. Described as the 64th temple in Tenochtitlan. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 317.

70. Corresponding Spanish text uses the word *pedrezuelas* (pedrezuelas, pearls or pearlets). Molina (op. cit.) translates the words *tlalli* and *xalli* as earth and sand.

71. *Chichiltzitzcuxtli*—a wrap for the head, set with jeweled disks, the front side bearing the figure of a cotinga (*chichiltic*); *quetzalmiçtli* or *xiuhxoxouhcuexcuexin*—a class of feather mosaic work in the form of a crescent moon, functioning upwards; *mitznene* *tlaco

776

five-cornered earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had sandals and arm-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and white cotton. He carried the staff with the device for rowing.

Twentieth Chapter, which tells of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk.

When people feasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Tlazolteotl (the god) gave them, as received punishment, hemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[70]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, four all feasted four days. Some feasted them: they ate no chili, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "pulverized maize," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fare of the flowers."

All who are good things are done only at midday. And some ate only one thing—neither of corn nor softened by lime,[71] without chili; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man bearer [of the likeness] of the god[72], wrapped in [his] clothing, in which he danced, they bore the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing cactus through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, for number which they had made for him. There were called [bread for] feasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery cotton.

Some then offered their offerings upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small wooden with a cross, and others [offered] two other ends of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey, or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like angled cakes or lightning-bolts; [or] honey-cornflies, cornflies of ground corn which had not been softened in lime, cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like rabbits, arrows, swords, and darts.

And here, in Mexico, from everywhere, were brought cupdrums, called "ribbon-cupdrums," [from] all varieties [of]

Ipan nauhtlatli vnnavi capitulo: inchipa chane in tonal, yn itoca: macuilxochitl, yuan xochipilli.

Çan nenonotzqui, ynic netotilitia nopeuhcauan inmah: 776
yn jquac nopejtlitoia, inin aca nopjchi ipan cinocuchia, 688
nenpa chane, ipan oquichmoteo: mjtoaia, quijnehnelpuja- 153
yn jmpanpa, 785
jc quimmatia, mmah quijtlalitia, quijmilhujtlalia, quimix- 834
mulitia, in nechicnotili, yn nemamauhti, tlapalnacaztli, 776
quenilnotili, 796
yniqca nemjna, nemamauhtia, ynic quimix, ynic [264]
quipopoa ynic quiyaoana, cocolizti.
Auh yn jquac ilhujqujtlitia, ipan mchilhujtl: achtopa
mcxillujtl nemachiyoana: in nappiuh in naupaxin, chi-
conin, quimpanolo tenmitl, in chapolin, cuchapaxin,
tolcuapanolo quipanmitl, ilpanjolcuatli in quja, nochimeli
yn ipan on, nemachiyoan.

nenchi quipan in valic, yan no nepanolo tenmitl
quimmitl. Auh yn ixo yan quimixtlia, in ixtencalli
quipanio, ale chilli: no nepanolo tenmitl quimmitl:
yc chanmanjli yn jlhujqujtlitia, ipan: ce tlacatl
quimixpantlatia, cuauhqujxin yn jtlacpa, ipan mjtoaia,
quihuicuauhquixin, quimixtlatia.

yuan in in nepanolo tenmitl, tlacuxolalia, nepanolo,
tlacuquilolia: yuh tlacuxolilitia yn jxcopan, nacajxcol in 785
quijhuitlitia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlapalli, ocuix vncal
ipan yxnelolo nochiuhtli.

yn ixo quenchiuhtli yuh: cuauhquixin, yuan cuauhquixin 776
ce no tlacatlcol tzonolxipinoua, mollotoja: yuan vncal 915
tamalli yhd panqui, no cenyi quenchiuhtin, mantiloa, cenca 262
chiltic, cenca tlatlauhqui. 796

Auh yn ixo inqujl, nenpa necuepajl, nenpa nenecuilli,
papaloxochitl, tolcuetlli, cuauhtlapalli, cuauhchinolli,
cuauhtajl, cuauhcuepajl, cuauhxoxol.

yuan tamalpan colcuoloia, in tamalli ajxtic mixtin, 776
nenenen nalnopalpan, yn jnepich nejhuiloan, yn 796
727

---

[70] Compare Spanish text under "hasta, con sufrimiento, de los pecados carnales, . . . dolencias, particularmente del miembro genital, dolores, tumores, etc."

[71] Corresponding Spanish text reads: "pero sin sal."

[72] In corresponding Spanish text "falso dios."

776
796 succeeding us, brought by them [Nahuas] living on the
727 borders of warring people. Then who had taken them pris-
oners, these "others-captives," brought them, [and] how
guards watched them.

And if one of them fled and escaped, they replaced him,
they brought a man to take the place of him [who had fled].

Then the slaves died, when the feast was celebrated.
776 And the garb [of Macuilxochitl was this]: on his lips
there was the impress of a hand. His face was red and brown.
He had a crown of feathers. A wing was the burden on his
back, on which was the sun-flag, with quetzal-feathers at the
top. The arrows climb, which was gay behind, had red edges.
He wore ear-medals.

Fifteenth Chapter, which relates of the god named Two Rival (Omeztli).

[773] This Omeztli was god of Ulmecatzinco.[74] It was said that he invented, created, and introduced lampooning—invitations to feasts, acceptances [of invitations], the feasting of people. Through him it came to pass that men gathered together, that men celebrations assembled. To one's house was brought his image, there to be held in esteem and cared for.

And also it was said that if he was not [so] held in esteem, like an invited [guest], he would become angered. He disliked one in his sleep or in a dream; he said to him who dreamed: "Thou! Why does thou not esteem me? I shall depart from thee. Already I know what I shall do to thee."

[753] And if he was easily enraged, when one set he often caused him to swallow hair which was upon the water and the food. And when, [as] one said, he was the god, often he sickened. Then he afflicted him: food stuck in his throat; the water wound about the roof of his mouth like a snake. His gullet was swollen when he ate. And if he walked, he trembled and fell.

776 And then was his feast celebrated. Where are the image
796 of the god first made a second cylinder [of dough]: this was
the base of the god. The chief men—the priest, the elder of
the city—[made it], a cubit long—for, round.

And before it was shared among them, first all ate and drank, drinking wine. And when they broke, they stabbed Omeztli in the stomach and killed him. Then the second self was shared, broken in pieces, divided among them.

When it was eaten, [it was] as if a debt had been accused, as if one were summoned to a feast, and were forgiven [the debt]. And those who conquered, when the feast ended, had paid with their stomachs and were sleepy, because they had repaid [their debt].

776 And then was he decked: he had a crown of feathers—

Xipe ezcatlli cupitzahua, yeuhque ihuan yn ueuei, yn jiuco Omeztli.

Jnin omeztli, ihtoaque, ueuei ceuia, yn jiuch ihuelitiz, in pixqueliztli, quiyauia yn ixhuiuh ixuiuia, in cuecuechtli, in ueluiquechtli, in ueluiquechtli: yuauhtjan euchiuia yn jiuauhtlahtia, yn jiuauhuapiltia tecuiltiqui, nohuiampa, ueuei ueuentiuhtia, necuiltiqui yn jiuipan.

Auh ma quiyauia, yeuhcauac mocuic-ihio, yn jehuajuan cuecuechtia, ihcuiltiqui: necuiltiqui, mocuic cuecuechtiqui tecuiltia, quiyauia, yn nopia quiyauiaya. Jn ixhuiuh ihcuia yn ueuei ihcuiltiquiuiuiuiz; ajcuiuiuhtiuhtia: auh in ne nijauiz, in ihuia nopan nijchihuaz.

Auh inin ceuia nopanoa, yn jiuaz ihuelitiz, nijcuia tecuiltiquiuiuiuhtia, in ixil, in ihuquilli ipan. Auh yn aquj yn nijauz nopan, nelliqui mocuic: yuiz quiuitiuja, nelcuia, yuiquc nijtlacuiua in ixil: nohuiquilaniuja in jiuaz ihuquc: auh yeuhcauac mocuic-uecuelaniuja, mocuic-uiuja, mocuic-uiuiuj.

Auh yuiz ihuiuiuiuhtiuhtia: yn aquja nopan, ochtopa quichihuaia, mocuiuiuhtli, ytuncjo in ueuei ceuia: qua ihcuiuh, mopiloui calpolli, can nelliquid yuiz huiuiuhtiz, ixil ixcuecuic, mjquiztic.

Auh yn ciuaca mocuiuiuiuc, ac ochtopa ihcuiuquilo, ocliuc, ihcuiuc: auh yn ocliuhtiz: cuajiuiuiuja, yn ueuei cuecuiuiz: ajcuiuiuc ic mocuiuiuiuc, mohuiuiuiuja, mocuiuiuiuja, in mocuiuiuiz.

ijquac quiquiuia, ihcuiuja ic mocuiuiuhtiuc, ochtopa quiuiuiuc, mohuiuiuiuhtiuc: ca yn aquiquc mocuic, yn ijquac in ihuiuiuhuiuiuc, mocuiuiuiuiuhtiuc, mopopocuic, yyocuic ca mohuiuiuiuc.

Jn ixuiuiuhtiuc ceuia: ihcuiuiuiuhtiuc, yuiuiuiuiuhtiuc, yuiuiuiuiuhtiuc, yui

the eagle-warrior's crown, the eagle-warrior's down headrest in red dye, and a cape of netting with snail-shells.[77] He bound ornaments had snail-shells. A mirror-stone in two parts [was painted] upon his face. He was [also] accepted with a shabby complying; his shield was shell-covered and had paper ornaments. The device for seeing was in his hand. [He was upon] his mood of meals and snakes.

yquechcopetzmolli, xamaio, yeuachio, ixipetzmoqui oyo 776
tecuxtlatlapanqui yn jnaio: yn jnechichinol, yniquexmoch, yniquichinol, xonqueio, yiluchtzio yuan cuxca, yuxiqui, xonquilli.

Sixteenth Chapter, which talketh of the god named Little Black Face (Ixtlilton), the earth-scamper (Tlalcoxcuini).[78]

Juio cuatlilli vnn cuplitzalo yeuhqui ilacua, in uuel yn jiuca, cuxca, ixtlilton, tlalcoxcuja.

He was a god, whose temple was made entirely of wood, at a place named Tlacuilocan. Here in his temple were many ancient books, covered over. These were called "his black [346]
tecuxca, xoxoctzinco ixtlilmeh.

Tzuel cuxca, qua quavid yn jiuquen cuxca, yuxuiuca tlacuilocan: in vncan yeuquen, mjec yn quauh, tzoncuxtli xoxoctzinco ixtlilmeh.

And whenever a child sickened, they brought him to the temple of Ixtlilton. They uncovered one of the jars and had him drink "his black water." Thereupon the child became whole.

Auh yn aquja xoxoctzinco, yolcuxtli, vnqua quiyjxuia yn 776
jiuquen ixtlilton: cuxtol, quiyhquixtia yn quauh, conjxuia 757
yn jiiluuh; ic yuxia in yolcuxtli.

When one wished [to arrange] a dance, amid incense, he went and brought [Ixtlilton's] impersonator to his house. It was only a man, who was accepted [like the god].

Auh yn aquja quiyuitia, cupalica in cuxcuxia, yuja 776
quiyuitia yuhuan yn jiiquin: qua tlacuxl in nochichiuiuia. 535

When they had arrived at his house, where there was to be a dance, food was eaten and thirst was quenched. After eating, Ixtlilton danced. After he had danced, he entered into the house; he uncovered the vase [which] for four days had been covered. This was called the first opening or tapping of the new wine.[79]

In nacic: yehuan, tjaxuxia, uyxuxia: ajuan tlachiquaia, 776
ailoa: yn oniquailoc, ajuan mjuxia, yn jxtlilton: yn oniquixti, yn onnacxuh, calnic oncalaqui: inhuxol quiyhquixtia in vetli, xuvillaujtica nacxuitzitzca: ic mjuxia, chiuacnappoalli, vinamaca. [273]

They then began to drink. Again they went out into the court, [and] uncovered "his black water," which also had been covered for four days. On the fifth day they uncovered it.

Nihuan yc vnquan, yn ic chiuaoc: oc ceppa oalquiza inualoc, quiyhquixtia yn jiiluuh, no nacxuitzitzca xuvillaujtica: ic macuilpilhuiqil in quiyhquixtia:

If slave, caluoche, cuxca, discovered [were found] upon it, then it was said punishment he was either an adulterer or a thief; or he lived dissolutely, or he lived in vice; or he was a sorcerer, he who had the dance. Then they confronted and reproached him openly. Then they said [the god] caused discord because he revealed and reproached people to others for their sins.

ic mjuxia, ic nantzuuia, inuia chiquili, yuala tecuxcauilli, [787]
yuala tzuuili, inuia tecolli, vncan vecuuc: ic mjuxia, ayo tetlaxtlua, ayo ichtac, ayoppa ahuellauaj, mahuiztic: ac ayo tlacuxcalle, in tlatoxia, ic quiyuecholoia, quiyuecuuaxia, quiyquentia: ic mjuxia tetzahui, tenquentia nuuuc: ichica, ca quiyuicuuaxca, quiyuiquentia, ic tetzauhui, yn tetzahuiztl.

And when he departed for his house, they gave him a large mantle called Iquen (face-covering).[80]

Auh yuja oalquiza tochil, quauhxili yn quiyuecoia tecuxcatia, iiquen. [292]

Juio: tzochichinoia, tenqui, tecuxcjuilhiquiqui, mjuiquiluiloli, yn jiiuuqui: tenquenchichiquiqui, quenmilla, 776

---

77. For description, see Sheratonese Ink and text in Sahagún, *Conquista de México*, Vol. II, pp. 111 and 112; and also Sheratonese (Chinese) —Plate 13.

The term *tzoncuxtli* means this animal eats or mouths, with one small shells learned where the souls crossed. The *chichicuauh* and the *tecuxcuxtli* were probably the same or similar. Edwin Collected Works, Vol. II, pp. 1, pp. 79, 82, citing, in the first instance, Sahagún's *Historia general*, Lib. III, Appendix, cap. 3. In Lib. II (*Florentine Codex*, fo. 37v), Sahagún refers to "*un ornamento de un palmo en quadro, hecho en esta vida, al qual llamavan tzoncuxtli, atado con unas cuentas de chalchites a los pechos. . . .*"

78. *God of medicine. Tlalcoxcuini* (or *tlalcoxcuitli*) is probably formed from *cloth* and *xoxoctzinco*. Cf. Edwin *Antiguo Español*, Vol. I, p. 16.

79. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 316: "*. . . los que ceremoniosamente hendedores los sacerdotes y hechos vino nuevo, que se llamaba octzpatli.*" The Spanish text of the *Florentine Codex* explains that "*a este abrimiento, llamavan tlatocaoaquiliztli, quiere decir, este abrimiento primero, o vino nuevo.*" On the meaning of *octzpatli*, see Sahagún, op. cit., p. 37, for a definition of *tecuxcatiliztli*.

80. "*. . . dandole vnhuen los quales llaman iiquen que quiere decir, cubrimiento de la cara porque quedava, avergonçado, aquel que avia hecho, la fiesta. . . .*" Loc. cit.

776 white clay. He had a spray of flint knives, with quetzal feathers.[78] The burden on his back had [a fan of] red quetzal feathers. His war flag was upon it. The sun sign was on his paper vestment,[79] and on his shield. Red was his staff, which had a heart. He had a necklace of the claws of an animal. He had a paper breech-clout. He had rattles and shells. He had sun-shoes.

Quintzontli tlacuxpa capitlalo, yeuhqui chiua, yn xuel, yn iuan cuexa opochtli yn quiyocuiuiloia in cuecuch, nican chiua.

Iuic opochtli, ipan mimiccia, daleo: ohuica iuanh cuexa, quiyocuiuiloia.

[773] They said that he made and revealed his creations and inventions—the net, the dart-thrower, the three-pronged harpoon,[81] the pole for propelling boats,[82] [and] the bird-snare.

776 And when his feast was celebrated, offerings of water,
796 food, [and] wine were made; and the cues of once places,
[213] accursed snakes, lizards, and ever-smelling herbs. These they spread before him, thus welcoming him. They shook their cacao-boards at him. They strewed toasted [pop-]corn grains like hailstones, or like scattered dice. And also his old man, his old woman, and the city eldest made music for him.

Jn iuh quiyocuiuiloia in ohuica: amatl, chichili, chichiltli, atzacuan, quetzalcihuatzin, cuauhcuilin, cuauhcuetzpalin, cuetzalin.

776 As his garb, he wore a paper crown; he was covered with black unguent—a liquid rubber covering; he had a hawk-feather spray with single quetzal feathers. He wore a paper breech-clout [and] had a paper vestment [over his shoulders] with the sun-emblem.

Eighteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Our Lord the Flayed One (Xipe totec).[80]

Iuic cuatlli vmey, capitlalo, yeuhqui chiua, in xuel: yn iuan, xipe totec.

He was the god of the sun-shone people, the proper god of the Zapotecs.

Ahuaxol inuiuh: cuquexca in vel inuiuh cuexa,

776 His gifts, [which] he deals out, his particular creations, his
753 excellences, with which he visited people, which he gave them, [were] blisters, sores, smallpox, ophthalmia, snake-bite causing watery eyes, infected eyeballs, lice about the eyes, fogging of the eyes, filling of the eyes with flesh, withering of the eyes,[84] cataracts, glazing of the eyes.[84]

yn iuquich panja, yn iuxiuo ytlachiual, yn iuxiuoxil: in tecuiloia, in tecuxia, ihuel quiyocuxia, in tecuxiuhtli, papalocuiltonti, papaxaltonti, tecuxiltonti, tzitzicazcatonti, tzopelicatonti, tzopelicaxaltonti, tzopelicaxiltonti, tzopelicaxiuhtonti, tzopelicaxtonti, tzopelicxiltonti, tzopelicxiuhtonti, tzopelicxtonti, tzopelixiltonti, tzopelixiuhtonti, tzopelixtonti.

776 Those who were affected, we men then sickened, would
796 decompose vow to him, saying [that] therefore we would keep on, leaving donned in, his skin, on the celebration of the Feast of the Flaying of Men.

Jn oquiz ipan mochiuia, yn cuecuech tequitini, yniqui mocuecuechia, yniqui mihmic: ynic tonmaqui yn ixcuic, ynic ihon mopiz, yn ixquac ilhuiquiztlan tonmocuia, tlacuiquentlalia.

All bemused persons in a company, wrapped in skins [of men], [blood-]soaked, dripping [blood], gleaming [with

duquehuiloia, tomoxia, mimiquixtia tonmocuia, mochiuh motlatia], chichiltocatiuh, chichiquiuhtiuh, tzocuahuatiuh] in

79. Cf. Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 308 (teququechtlapalli).

80. Cf. Seler (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 591) for explanation of name *Xipe totec*.

81. ". . . se donde de tres puntas que se llama mimiquixtli."—Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 172. The corresponding Spanish text on Quetzalcoatl contains the same information: ". . . *se servia de ellos, como de tres puntas, [arrojando huesos, puesto caso que (el) entonces [no] tuviese [ellos]*" (see text there, *a los pescados y tortugas*).

[501] 82. Signifying in the text, they propelled it with a long pole. The Spanish text uses the same verbs, *ver*, which is admittedly inaccurate.

83. Seler (*Translation of the Aubin Collection*, p. 103) cites Herrera (*Hist. gen.*, Lib. III, cap. 19) to indicate that Xipe enjoyed special honor in the Totonican district. A clear discussion of the "*sujetar y dispensar*" is given in Sahagún, *Historia general*, Vol. III, p. 153. See also note 89.

84. Meaning problematical.

blood], so that they sacrificed those whom they followed.[87] They fought, joining in battle against the valiant chiefs—those men [all].

And all [the chiefs], having taken their pleasure with wine, acted like buffoons, intoxicating and pretending to be warriors, confident of death, jostling one another, acting perversely, like warriors. Here they exercised their arms [against those who were slain], and played at combat like fighters in war, some resting.[88] This was [at Xipe totec's temple] called Tzocuic.

And the young men garbed like Xipe totec, wearing human skins,[89] then went everywhere from house to house, begging. They were placed on square-files mats; bunches of [corn] were hung on them like jewels; they placed garlands on their shoulders, they covered them with flowers. They gave them to drink.

And if any woman had blisters, or ophthalmia, she said: "Let me make an offering to Totec, when [the Feast] of the Flaying of Men [is celebrated]."

[Xipe's] garb [was this]: he had the quail-painting on his face.[90] Rubber divided his lips in two parts. On his *Yopi-totec*[91] was placed [a band] with feathered ends. He wore a human skin, the skin of a captive. He had a wig of loose feathers, golden ear-plugs, a square-leaf skirt. He had conches. His shield was red and had circles. His cactus stick[92] was in his hand.

totec, yejic motlamachtilloia: quimocalhiaia, quimamjqui in tlacaxe, tlapanoti, tlatemoani.

776
796

ynon in inquichti, qua papaquiloj, yn ajhioiotia, tlatlamati, mocujchaqui, mocujchaotiqui, motzotzomaloquia, ten motlatlauj, tlachtlilloque: tecuo mimiccatia, motlamachtiaia, yn juh mjtalloque inepan, vnpa mocaccaoia yn ixic, mjtoaia tecuio.

[524]
[346]

Auh yn tetzcui xjuan in ic nenjan, vpan cuallaqui, no tlatlaoa: tzapalcalpan tlalliz, quimochalcuacatia, quimochimapanaltia, quimiquacuahuia, quimolaoanja.

[292
352
302]

Auh inin ica ciuatl, tzonmanja, jatoquia: quitoa, ma njtlamanilia, in totec, inpac tlacaxipeualiztli.

Jn inichichtinol, mixcolochtinoli, tzonmaxtic xhica, yiopitzon coztalitzcac maxaliuhqui, commaquixtiez tlacuiouil, yiouio malli, tzonchaiouio, tzocuitlanacuchi, tzapotzcuic, tzitzili, ixhinol tlachtvellacachiuhqui, chicaoaztli yn jmac ixic.

776

Nineteenth Chapter, which tells of the god named Lord at the Vanguard (Yiacancauhtli).[93]

He was the god of the merchants. Greatly they esteemed him, carrying in paper[94] the cross traveling staves[95] with

Jnic ontlalli vnnauj capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa, in tecuil: yn jiuca yiacancauhtli.

Pochteca inteuh catca: cenca quimjxviztlacia, quimjxquetzalia: yn jacapil, yancuiacapil, yei tzonmaja, yei

776
463
484

---

86. The corresponding Spanish text describes the scene thus: "*Es este fiesta, hacian cruz en lengua de valor: de manera que si se vendo, era de la parte desta dicha, o ynorgen del dios totec; y este todos, yuan bendiendo los pellejos de hombres que avian muerto, y desollados, en aquella fiesta. . . . Los del bando contrario, eran los soldados valientes, y osados, y personas valerosas, y esforçados: que no temian en nada la muerte: osados, atrevidos, que de su voluntad salian, a combatirse, con los otros. Alli los unos, con los otros, se acometian, en el exercicio de la guerra peleavan los unos, o los otros: hasta se pasaua, y de alli, holgavan bastando, hasta se proprio passo.*" Cf. also the description in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 139. The game of valor in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Vol. II, pp. 399-400, is described as "*Antiqua fiesta, juego ó ejercicio caballeresco en que tomaban parte dos bandos á caballo, acometiendo gallardamente y arrojándose cañas de las que se empuñaban con la zaranda.*" A Moorish exercise, in Medieval times adopted also by the Spaniards, it was renewed in the nobility. In such the form of a pleasurable war-game requiring considerable skill in horsemanship and space-learning.

87. *MS Biblioteca del Palacio*, Sahagún, *Ensayo Español*, has *tzocuic* in the Aztec text, instead of *ziuc*, which is in the *Florentine Codex*. Sahagún translates the passage as "they conquered, overall, at the place called Tzocuic."

88. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 139: "*Todos los pellejos de los desollados se vendian vnos mancebos, a los vsados llamaban Tzocuic.*" Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 123, defining Tzocuic as "*los mancebos o hombres del dios Totec.*"

89. In the *MS Biblioteca del Palacio* text (Sahagún, *op. cit.*), the word is *mixquichtlatolcuic*, translated as "*in hat im Gesicht die Weissfärbemalung.*" Sahagún also (*Fundamental of the Aztec Collection*, p. 102) uses "*the term mixquichtlatolcuic (quail face painting).*"

90. Sahagún (*Geschichte der Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 466) translates *yopi* as "*the red people*" (Tlaxcalans), and gives two illustrations to indicate that they were painted cups.

91. "The word *chimmalli* means 'whatever anything is made among.' Word and symbol obviously refer to the accomplishing of the reproductive functions, as fructifying. Hence we also see the chimmalli with the four signs projecting between the human couples in sexual union." Sahagún: *Fundamental of the Aztec Collection*, p. 100.

92. Sahagún suggests that the form of the name should be *tzocuic-tecolli* or *tzocuictecolli* ("the lord, the prince, the leader") (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 37). Tezozomoctli (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37) says he also was named *Yacantlehqui* ("el que tiene la vara; capitán"); Francisco Javier Clavigero, in *Historia antigua de México* (Editorial Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), Vol. II, p. 87, n. 17, adds the name Xiuncuauhtli.

In *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 91, Sahagún refers to Yacancauh as meaning "head of the cane," and to the form Iyacancauhtli, which Sahagún uses in the *Florentine Codex*, as "head of the departed," explaining the association of the rods of this god with those of Tezcatlipoca, and linking Yiacancauh with Izcuinpilli. Both the latter were among the "old gods."

93. Cut in four points and covered with liquid rubber. (Sahagún: *op. cit.*, p. 93).

94. The corresponding Spanish text states ". . . *en una cuña, manjar, que ellos llaman tetuil. Y tambien vsan de otra manera de hazelo,*

776 463 464 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set down up; before them they did penances, they drew [their] blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

These vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for wherever goods there might be; they searched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They beteak themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotinga;[102] the parrot; the trogon[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, inchipa cochiaque, vncan quiçiloque, inpan tlamacoa, mjyo, quiçaçalaoaçilia, ynic quiçilaoaia yn jaoyoch yiacatecutli, ynic quiçilaoçilia, ynic quiçaaxaçoçilia, yxcuxalilia:

nenjoan acicinoaj, calactinoaj. Auh ic motocoa, pochteca yiaque: inoch cenque, yn itoca inoaoh, yiacatecutli:

Ontetoca, mocoa: calaquiaj, vel quiçaxcatinoaj, in tlein quiçaxcaxcahuiaque, mocoal quiçaquaxtinoaj, mocoal quiçacaxcatinoaj,

tocalilitotinoaj, hococicalotinoaj, mocicahpoxahuinoaj, mocicahpoxahuiaj, elicicahuiaj, mocicahpoxtinoaj, yxcalloticah, yxnjaqua tlalticah, inmoal quiçaxcaxjaj, inmoalcanjoh inicah:

inmoal quiçaxcaxtinoaj, ezhuhuiti, aquel, quiçaxcaxja, quiçilocaxja, inquichca mo: inmoliqui, inacopan ic tlalaxca, ic mocaquaxtia:

vel quiçiloaj vel quiçhiloaja, ynic quiçaxcaa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in tzauhyel, yn apoçonalli, in tzucujtlatl: in acapan ilnuxtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechtl, zinhuexcal, in tzotli, çaqua: quenhuli, in tzquauhtzol, yn ocelopeltzol.

---

que se van cada vegez haziendo, mueren sin dexar sucesores: que se acaua presto, de los que se van en espedas." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 100, gives hundreds (*Centenas* app.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 37-8) says they gathered the stones all together, gave with a ribbon, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (represents enemies subjects) (Sahagún *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Geschichte Akkolhuacans*, Vol. II, p. 1104, *Sobre nuevas: "Yiakotzotli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyoxotzotli ('der Herr der Wegspanne') war der Gott der Kaufmannsgilde der späteren neuen schlechten Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten."*

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Ozumba in Amilpas as one of the towns famous for the *Xicalcoatl*.

The references in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 330, to the *Nauhcampanecas*, appears to refer to a people or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* (*tlacopa*).

[103] 96. Amilpas, in addition to designating the valley of Morelos, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, especially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as *"todas las poblaciones, que estan afuera de la mar."* In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún states *"Tabasco hasta Acalhuan, que dista mas de cien leguas"* (from Tula). Also, *"Estendian en la provincia de Acalhuan, no todos, sino aquellos que iban de parte del señor de México con quien estaban aliados y confederados . . . iban todos juntos hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En este pueblo se dividian, unos iban a Acalhuan Ayotlan; otros iban a Acalhuan Xicalanco."*—*Historia general*, Vol. II, p. 334.

Sahagún defines Acalhuan Ayotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Acalhuan Xicalanco as the area of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 496.

97. *"Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de muchos valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y ytzli piedras de naraja, la cual es muy pulida y de muchos visgueos, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralde que es muy verde, es tiene muchos, y muy pulida y transparente se resplandeciente."* (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. *"Turquesas, quiere decir turquesas de las dimos . . . es turquesa fina, y es ninguna valorada y muy tenida."*—*Loc. cit.*

99. *"Las plumas que crio en la cola se llaman quezalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, estas unas bajas de esmeralda, dobligase cuando las toca el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente."*—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. *"El tzuzalo que tiene en la cabeza esto ave (quetzaltotol) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llamase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esto ave el cuello y el pecho colorado y resplandeciente; es preciosa esta pluma y llámanla tzinitzcan."*—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: *"Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene colgan en el pecho y en los costados y debajo de las alas; son de natural pintas y la natural verdes resplandecientes."*—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechtl* or *tzonpanchtl* means red spoonbill or pourious spoonbill. It is an aquatic bird. *"Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color amarronado muy fino."*—*Loc. cit.*

Sahagún gives names as *Pitzalac Aijoje* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 681). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 370, gives *Pitzalac Ajoje* some L. (*tzonpanchtli*).

102. Sahagún defines *tzinitzcan* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Sahagún identifies it as *Cotinga cincta S. Cuvieria* (*ibid.*, p. 694). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould*.

103. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 166: *"Cuando vuela y estiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) verdosas al color amarillo con las negras, y asi parecen estas llamas de fuego y estas son, colores en Acalhuan."*

776
463
484
[414]
[439]

"And [they brought] vases, and incense-burners, and jars made of calabashes, spoons for stirring cacao, and suppers for jars.

Ach in tecomatl, in pochtecomatl, in ximocli, in aquajd yn temaccaiatl:

When they entered lands with which they were at war, and were among people who were far distant, they became like their enemies in their garments, their hair-dress, their speech,[189] [that they might] mimic the natives.

[292]
intlaxel inxtilon, in tzocuj, in tzacutica, ocelan cuexcuj, vel colaquj, motlacacuepa in nechihixoalitica, in nexiotica, in tlaxilotica quiyolochacalhuja in chanaque.

And if they came to an evil pass, if they were discovered, then they were slain in ambush and served up with chili sauce.[190] [But if] any—even one, even two—escaped alive, [such an one] informed Moctezuma.

[263]
Ach inda otlaneçumalotique, inda otitoque: vncan quiçaquimjctia, quiçchillotilia: çe acn, aço ce, aço vme ya- [266]
oc nil tomatitlaque quiça, inhuel quiçalaxotzaia in motecuçoma:

This one then gave him a gift, and decked him with his amber lip-plug. He did him honor, singling him out as a valiant warrior, thus making him a man of consequence.

ic vncan quimaca, caquiça, yquçmalmotzcuh, yc [431]
quimvicitia, ic quimocuitia, in tlacauh, vncan ic [301]
oquichtia. [301]

And when those who returned arrived home, when they had come back, when they had reached and had commencement in their land, they feasted all, [especially] the merchants and the principal men, that they might make themselves celebrated.

Auh yn iquac calaxia, yxchan: vn jnilloch, ynnecuepal oquichtinhque, yn otlalnachcico, yn otlalnchipachiuhque: inquich tlacatl quimoua, in pochteca: yuan in tlatoque, ic nemitiniaia:

It was called "the washing of the face."[191] They paid great honor to the cacao, to the walking staff, of Yiacatecuhtli.

mjtoa, nocnipaca, cmoa quimavixtiliaia yn itopil, yn [776]
jtlacpaia yiacatecuhtli:

In the tribal temple[192] they set it upright. They offered it an offering first, when they laid a feast. And when they entertained people to a banquet, they always offered it an offering when they ate.

cuua in calpulco quiçaxtia: achto quitlamanjlia, yn [796]
iquac totlaquahtia: yuan intlaca nel motecuaxoua, [778]
quimamanjlia in çan mochipa yn jtlaquaia.

And when they ceremonially hacked and slew a man as a sacrifice,[193] he whom they offered was the likeness of their god, Yiacatecuhtli; or else one of [the following gods], or all of them, whom they worshipped—Chicomecoatl, or Chalmecacioatl, Acxomocotl, and Nacxitl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac.[194] No one determined, [for] it was of their own free will, whether they should offer up one or two men.

Auh inda aca tzatzia, inhuel calxiaia, quimoaia in jtzonh yiacatecutli: aoqo cuua inhuantin yn mochoaia, in quimomotziaia in chicomecoatzintl, aoqo chalmecacioatl, yuan acxomocotl, yuan nacxitl, cochimetl, iacapitzauac, ainc quimoaia, yiollotlama, yn aço ce, aoqo vme, ca altiz tlacatl:

They bought them there at the slave market at Azcapotzalco; they served and arranged them, turning them around many times, examining them, buying the good ones—those of good bodies, without blemish, the best men, in good health, sick in no degree, who were marked by no marks on the body.

vnpa cuuoxaia yn tlacuexcujloca axcapotzalco: motlah- [776]
tlatilia, motlapapatilia, quimcuecuepa, quimjxhitia, yn [796]
qualnin quimcuexque, yn acxn quemanjque, in tlacaixcti, in [567]
tlacamelaoque, yn acxn cocoxque, yn atle inlacuh ce:

Such as these they slew on the feast-day, Panquetzaliztli, when the feast of Uitzilopochtli was celebrated.

ynjc inhuan quimicinque, yn ipan panquetzaliztli: yn vncan ilhuiquiztlilloia vitzilobuchtli:

Thereupon they garbed them in trappings like those of Yiacatecuhtli, which were assigned to them.

yquac quimchichioaia, quimtlamamaca, inxoch quitlalia yn jehuaj yeachichioal yiacatecuhtli.

And before they slew them, first they let them be seen by the people. It was said: "They now them up [like

Auh yn ainmo quimjctia, achtopa quimtemitiaia: mjtoa quimjuetzia, ic quimomachtia in tealtique:

---

189. Cf. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 77): Yxuxubchqui "*pequeñuscos vasezuelos pintados, que tienen vnaya, ó bebidad, para mesfar graciosamente, ó regalar, y se sobre, y regir (que es propio vocablesio de Mexicanos)* . . . ."

190. Cf. Soler (*Ensayo Español*, p. 32) citing *Hist. Reyn. Coth. Mex.* B. II §80.

191. Book IX of the *Historia general* deals almost entirely with the activities of the merchants. Chapter VI, entitled *De las ceremonias que se hacia a los mercaderes cuando llegaban a su casa, que se llamo lauatorio de pies*, mentions washing mouth and hands.

192. Sahagún: tzilnacatzcalli or "*ydolos del templo, ó parroquia*" (Spanish version).

193. Sahagún defines the ceremonies in this manner: "*Estos dauian que matauan a estos esclauos.*"—*Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 213.

194. According to the Spanish version, they were four brothers and a sister of Yiacatecuhtli. Soler (*Colected Works*, Vol. II, pt. 4, p. 92) recognizes Cochimetl and Yacapitzauac as synonyms for Yiacatecuhtli. "Chicomecoatl or Chalmecacioatl is the name of a goddess of water and the earth"; Acxomocotl is Tezcatlipoca; Nacxitl is Quetzalcoatl.

776
796 goods]." Thus it was made known to the people that they
567 would be offered up as sacrifices.

At this time they gave gifts and had a feast.

And their victims they set up in a good place, all in costly manties which had been placed upon them. [And] they made them dance upon the roof-tops or in the market place. [And] they went singing, ending their song mocking death.

[565] And if any were found who were very subtle, among those to be offered up as sacrifices; one skilled in songs, one who was ingenious, who was intelligent and able, the noblemen set him aside and put another in his place.

Likewise, if a woman could sew, or if she prepared food well, or made good cacao—from whose hand good food and drink came; [or if she was] a good interpreter; her also they set aside. The nobles took [such women] as wives.

[595] 776 [Yiacatecutli's] array [was thus] put on: his face was covered with white pyrites. He had a tuft of hair on the front of his head like a pillar of stone and a headband with bunches of quetzal feathers. He wore golden ear-plugs. A blue knotted cloth was his cape.[110] He had a costly breech-cloth. He had little bells and shells. He wore princely sandals. His shield bore a coil pattern like a gourd vessel,[111] in quetzal feathers. His traveling staff was in his hand; he had a cane staff.

iquac tetlachtia, tetlaqualtia.

Auh yn jtlachilhuan, iaccan, quiçaquetze: motech tlaçotlmatli, yn jaxcch quiçolalilia: ipã mjecuiuia in tlapanco, anoço tianquizco: cujcatimanj, tlatlahtlanj yn jaxaje, yejx momiquinquequelos.

Auh intla aca citeuc, in cenca mjmati tlaahtilli, yn cujcamatinj, in ixiimatcpuj, yn jne, yn iollo: quiçaçatzinia in pipilti, ipan tlacaquetzania:

no iehuatl, intla cioatl, intla tlacuchichiuhcpuj, anoço vellaqualchiua, vel achiua, in qualli yiecah, in qualli intlaqual ymac quiça; vellatzinolocuc: no quiçatlania, quijnomolocacicuecuenia in pipilti.

In jaochichioual motlatlalali, mixquetzvi, yeomjlo, inquextia, inquetzoua, quecxallalpilo, tzacuxitlacacoche, xiuhtelpalli yn jxiiua, tlaçomaxtle, cuitzile, cuxcalo, tzccaque, quecxalxicalcolchiuhcpuj yn jchimol, ytlacpaia ymac omoc, colaxapile.

Twentieth Chapter, which tells[112] of the god whose name was Lord of the Four Directions (Napa tecutli).

776 It is said that he also belonged among the Tlalocs. He
467 was the special [god of] the mat-makers' guild, who worshipped him as a god.[113]

And he was also [god] of those who fashioned mats of large, fat reeds, and of those who made frames of reeds.[114]

[173] They spoke in this wise: "For it was he who first taught and showed them how to weave mats and make seats."

He it was who owned, ruled, discovered, began, and initiated [mat-making].

And they spoke thus: "For he it is who causeth the reeds to sprout and grow—the fine thin ones, the coarse ones, the long, fat reeds and the round, white ones, those with sprouts, the black ones, the sharp ones, the thin ones."[114]

776 And when it was his feast day, they spoke thus: "He
796 washeth and bathcth men; he sheltereth and sprinkleth rain
467 upon them." [For] greatly they importuned [rain] of him.

[567] And also each year they slew a man who represented him, a slave.

Jnic cxmpoalli capitulo, yxchpa tlaoa yn tecutl yn jnoca catca Napa tecutli.

Jnh ixiuia, ca no iniuch pouj yn tlalocpa: inhuan yxujcuiuian, incatjan, in calpollec, quimomatinia in petlachiuhcpa:

yoacx tolcuechichiuhcpa, in tlacuechjuhcpa, yuoch mopouia:

ioh quijxuia, ca inhuatl achto quimachti, quimitiui, in petlachiuallotli, yn iqualchiualiztli:

inhuatl axcaua cacocuania, tlatepiua, tlacentlo, tlacuitlo, tlapoualtlo.

Jnon ioh quijxuia ca inhuatl quimaltia, quiçaçania, in toli in tolpatzaoac, in tolpatlactli, in tolnepilli, axtapili, in tolquiiotl, in tolcapotl, yn jxuxoli, xoxali:

yuoc yn jquac illujoluhcpiçaia, ioh mjoua, tapatzaca, tzaltia, tapan quiçaxtzaua, tapan quiçaoua, yn cuechali, cuxca tlalhelanjlilouia.

Auh no ce tlacatl, ipan quimouia, tlacotli, in quimixtlania ixtelolotica:

---

110. Corresponding Spanish version states that "este vestiuan con una manera aqui, y vsaua el aqui, una red sugeto de manera que aqui, se parecia, por las mallas de la red."

111. The *tecolotlahtiqui* also has been referred to as a quetzalmacaltzcal-serpent-head design.

[618] 112. *Caltpulli*—due to gens, which organized, probably, of bands of old families, controlled domestic affairs, distributed its common lands among members (Soler: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1, p. 80, citing Alonso de Zorita: *Breve synopsis relacion*, Vol. II, pp. 72-127). In version of his writings Soler uses the word "guild" when the context suggests its suitability.

113. Corresponding Spanish text says, "*Tenpo cotizan de jouiscar que llamau colcuecuili.*"

114. *Cf.* Sahagun: *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 140 and Vol. III, p. 272.

They arrayed him [like the god], and he carried in his hand a green gourd vessel, in which was water. With a branch[115] he sprinkled people.

And when not on his feast day, but sometime during the year, [a devotion was paid to Napa tecutli,] another man impersonated him, and they decked him [similarly].

When one of the makers of gods desired that there should be a dance at his house, that he should observe [a devotion], the governors of his guild (*calpulque*)[116] escorted [the impersonator of the god], who went sprinkling the people with water, since they had prayed that they might be benefited.

And when he delivered himself of his faults, [the celebrant] brought forth his goods and chattels.

He said: "May I eat not in vain, may I consume not in vain, may I use not for myself alone that which hath benefited me. May all be eaten, drunk, consumed, that a dance be danced for our god, Napa tecutli. May I now live, soon sleep, soon awake again. [The god] knoweth if he will give anything to me, if he willeth that anything be given."

Then he covered the impersonator with a large cotton mantle; who, thus clothed, then departed [with the *calpulque*] from [the mat-maker's] house.

And then [the mat-maker] feasted all his kinsmen.

And in the guild hall where was guarded the image [of the god], the mat-makers greatly honored and cared for him. Always they spread out mats and set up mats; they drank [things] out, they swept clean, they removed rubbish, they laid fires. Always they swept [the hall] very clean, they provided incense. No rubbish lay about.

And in this manner was [the god] indulged; he was covered with a black unguent; his face had a thick coating of soot—his face was blackened, and it was spotted with a paste of amaranth seed. He wore a paper crown. His haircloth, at the back of his head, was of paper. He wore a paper breech-clout. He had bells and white sandals. He bore the shield [ornamented with] water-lily flowers and leaves. He carried a staff of long thick reeds.

qujchichioia, ynuc mactimoca, nonoqo, nonohqui 776
xicalli: vncan nemoa ad, vncuica ic tzacualhoia. 796

Auh yn jquac 567
qujqujxtiloia, qujchichioia: 467

yn jquac ilo ace, petlachiuhqui qujnequi ychan qujcotia,
qujquipohtic: vmpa qujviteca, in calpulque, tzacualhujuh,
nonachviuh, inhuqui ic qujtlaoljloia, ynic qujmicnelo.

Yoan inhqujn ynic mocuylaocuilolooia: yn ocac in
vnca ilaqui, yanca:

qujtoia, macamo ajcmoqua, macamo ajcmopolo,
macamo ajmicnaqui, yn nocnelilaca: ma onquilo, ma onjon,
ma onpopolij, ma ic onmjtoti in tonoah napa tecutli:
ma çaquen ajcmomjtic, yn oc inhqui ajcochic, oc inhqui
ajcmon, inha qujmati, yn ocac tla, nochmomaquilia,
qujmonacavilia:

ic quinquentoia in quachili, yn izipila muchioaia, ic
calquiça yn ichan:

auh ic muchiteuctl, tlatlaquaia yn jxuiuiloque. 776
Auh yn jcalpuleo in vmpa pialoia yzipila, ozoca tlamaxtilloia, tlacotlaia, in petlachiuhque, muchipa petlatzoca, 467
icpalotzca, tlatzontzalca, tlachipana, tlacuecuj, tlecuelia,
muchipa cupaltzoca, tlaxtzcalialhoac tlaxtzcalialhoiocan, [356]
calo vecatzc, yn tlaçalli.

Auh yuju yn muchichioaia, motiloçac, mjxtlilpopoca, 776
mixtlilhuj, mjchchiaujtzinc, amacalc, yiamacuepal, amamaxtle, tzitzile, itzcuitapac, atlacuçcuecuchmalc, aztaxtepilo.

Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded Ones (Tepictoton), who were held to be among the Tlaloc.

[The Tepictoton] were also thought to belong among the Tlaloc.

These thus named Tepictoton were only imagined. They made them as representations of various mountains.

And any who were palsied, cramped, stiffened, paralyzed, or any who were threatened with drowning when the wind arose over the water, would then vow that they would fashion images, that they would make representations of

Jnic ceppoalli vce capitulo, vncuja ilacoa yn inoo tepictoton: yn jquac pouja tlaloque.

No yuoan pouj, inoah tlamjnoia yn tlaloque:

yn jc mjtoaia tepictin, çan qujmotepiquja, qujmixpilaoiaia, in tetepe, in çaço caxla tepetl.

Auh yn aquja cuecuja, cocoponia, çaquacuhoia, 776
cuentzaujo: aiaqo yn aquja atlan miquimoqui, ylocatl ipan 782
mocuepa ata: vncan momotlatoia yuju tepiquin, in
qujquiquin: quemanjnel, in chalchiuil ycac, in tlalc:

115. The corresponding Spanish text qualifies "*su ramo de oloy*" (*anon*).
116. According to Durán, (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 333), the *calpulques* were "*calpules o guardas de barrios*."

776 Quetzalcoatl, Chalchiuitl ycue, Tlaloc, Papaquetzal, Itzac
782 tepetl, Poiaqhuiyotl,[117] and any other monstrous of which
they had vowed to make representations.

And they represented the monstrous, they made their
532 images, only in a dough of amaranth seed and maize,[118]
782 made in human form; made to look like men.
755 They gave them teeth of squash seeds; they provided them
eyes of fat black beans. With whatever adornment [the
monstrous] were represented, thus when they made them,
they thereupon arrayed them.

[314 And they made papers, and they spattered them with
289] liquid rubber.[119] And they laid these over them as mantles.

And some of these papers, which were spattered with
drops of liquid rubber, they hung on a cord, tied and fas-
tened together, so that they were held in a row before
the small molded ones [Tepictoa].

They roasted, quivered, and flew in the house. Cones of
fat, round reeds [held the cord] at both ends; [the canes]
were stuck into and supported by the ground. On this were
held the rubber-spotted papers.

[415] And a green spotted gourd was split in two and cored.
Before [the Tepictoa] they set this, which they called the
turquoise cup, for the wine, in which the wine was. Then
they offered [them] wine.

793 And it was the office of the priests alone, who were appoint-
532 ed, to make [the Tepictoa] and set them in place. None
of the householders dared make or adorn them.

And on the fifth [day], when they feasted the priests,
it was said, they caused them to forget.

782 When the Tepictoa were fashioned, thereupon they held
755 a vigil and made music for them.

During the night, they made offerings four times; they
set before the priests, before them who sang the songs for
the Tepictoa, round tamales which they gave them.

And four times they offered them food during the night,
and they made music for [the Tepictoa].

[198 They whistled with their fingers, they made music for
533] them with shells, with flutes, and with fifes.

[273 Young jouvers, in their caps, who set capers, and donned
463] purple, blew the flutes. They also were offered food.

And on the next day they slew the Tepictoa [images];
they slew them, like sacrificial quail, twisting their necks.
Then they gathered up and carried away the Tepictoa
figures made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize to
the priests' house, where dwelt the priests.

And he who [caused us to be] fashioned the Tepictoa thereupon returned to his guests, where they were entertained.

273 And in the evening, toward nightfall, then all the old
782 people set drinking wine—those already advanced in age, the
755

117. Gods of the sea, of water, and of rain (cf. corresponding Spanish text). Papaquetzal and Itzac tepetl (Itzac cloud) are mountain-gods in the Valley of Mexico; Poiauhtecatl is Mt. Orizaba.

118. Made of dough (*tzoalli*), in the Spanish editions; *Estas estatuas o simulacros fueron dos Xochiteuhtzin* (Ensayo Xicotencatl, p. 27).

119. ". . . *unos papeles llenos de goma de ule, o hule* 'rubber papeles llenados *untadosule*'", Tezozomoc, *Historia general*, Vol. I, p. 139).

well-matured, the gray-headed, the white haired; and the old women.

Of these it was the exclusive privilege that they should drink wine.

And when they had drunk their fill, thereupon all were to their houses, dispersed and scattered.

Some were all weeping; some danced the warriors' dance; they danced the ceremonial dance; some walked weak-kneed; some were shouting.

And first the wine-makers were entertained; they roused from their office.

It was explained that for four days they should fast and abstain during their work, lest [the wine] sour.

They should look to their strict abstinence; no man might lie with a woman, nor a woman with a man.

[And] none might taste the wine, nor the syrup [from which it was made], while it was being prepared.

One might not even dip one's finger into it; one paid it reverence and treated it delicately, until the wine was tapped.[130]

And of him who secretly tasted it, who in secret drank some, even tasting only a little, it was said that his mouth would become twisted, it would stretch to one side;[131] to one side his mouth would drift; it would be drawn over.

And if one were lame in one hand, or if his arm or leg quivered, or a hand or foot became misshapen, or the foot shook, or his eyes trembled, or his lips quivered, or if one were possessed by a devil, it was said that the pulque-mountain gods had been angered by him.

And when the day broke, thereupon took place the dispersal of the ministers. At the distribution, only to relatives, the people of the household—his family, they of the same parentage, of the same womb, those of the same clan [took part].

They called it the distribution of the leftovers; then all the food and drink were consumed, used up—all finished.

And they left nothing of what still remained of the drugs in the vessel, of the wine, of watered wine,[132] of fruit wine,[133] of white wine, of deep-purplish wine.

And he who had the images made, if he had the gout, as was said above, he was then cured. And he who was to have drowned but did not die, when he caused the images to be made then paid his debt and then fulfilled his vow.

And all their adornments—their paper garlands worn over one shoulder [as a sign of death or of one to be slain before the gods], their crowns of round thick reed, and their flame-sticks,[134] their chord-bundles;

and the turquoise rays and their little mirror bowls with

calhuiyque, in ic quintaqui, in ic tomiztaqui, yuan ilamatlaca yn jlamatque:
ixhuan vel inmomac cuica, in vcili in quinqui.

Auh in otlaiviztic, ninan in ic vixjloa, cocomonoia, xixiniyoa:
yn aca mochaquijlitiuh, yn aca moqujchintiuh, mjxtitiuh, momamactiuh: yn aca tetzatlilitiuh.

Auh in vctlali, achto molcaxaltiloia: çan no cenca yn inequjuh, yn jchinjl:
tlacaqujtiloia, xavilhujtl maçaoaia, quiyaçanjliaia yn inequjuh, ynic amo zocoiac:
vel mapiaia, vel motlacaoaltiuh, amo cioacochia, amo oquichcochia, ixtla cioatl:
çan ninan aiac vel ontlapaloaia yn vctli, yuan in necutli, ynic mochioaia:
aiac inmomil inapil, conaqujaia, vel yuacaxaa, vel mallujlaia, yn lequjchica, mjtecaxapoctac yn vctli.

Auh yn aquja, ichtaca tlapaloaia, yn tlachtaca yia inmomil çan tepiton ocmpalo: ixh mjtoaia tzonecanjlivia tepantlivia, avic momamana avic nequjvi yn in:

yuan in aca mazticoliuja, yma quicuecuetza, icxi quicuecuetza, macopichanj, icxicopichanj, icxicuecuepchca, yhixtotoca, tzapapatlaca, tzavviioca, itech quiaoca: mjtoa, oquichtaveliqui in xotoulqui tepicme.

Auh yn otlachujc, njman ic ic apozalo: yn apoxa çan ixhuan, yn iomiolque, in vel icalloc, in centlaca, cemaca, in vel icujtlaxcallac, yn vel inecaioc:

motenoca apozalo, iquac compaliuja tlachiaoj, in quenqujch macioaia, in ati, in tlaquallí:
yuan in oc quenqujch omocauh xaiocaoja in vctli, in aiactli, in tlachioalvctli, in intac vctli, in cochvctli.

Auh yn tepiquijnj, in tepiquj: inela cuacivi, yn juh oninjo tlacpac, ic patic: yuan yn aquja atlan miquizquja ynjc amo mjc: ixhuaol, ynjc tepiquj, ynjc mextlaoa, ynjc quiualilia yuaotal.

Auh yn jaqujch, yn jouachichioal, yn jotlaquan, yn jmamaxapan, yn jmaxtopil, yn jotlapotlanjliquauh, yn jmaiauhcacal:

yuan yn jxchalchiuhxoxal, yuã yn jotlaquaia molcaxaoaoal,

130. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 39, citing marginal gloss a MS Biblioteca del Palacio. Cf. also explanation in Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 38.
131. Probably exaggeration is meant. In these appears a MS Biblioteca del Palacio (Cf. Sahagún, loc. cit.)
132. Possibly pulque.
133. See Molina (Vocabulario).
134. Alfonso Toumoux, Historia de Mexique (tr. Toumoux-Campenon, 2 v.; Paris: P. Jannet, 1855), Vol. I, p. 309, describes this as a light flammiform club: ". . . on alla dit qu'il en existait des flammes en fer étincelant." Soler (op. cit., p. 30) calls it a lightning stick (Rayo).

755
782 which [the children] use, the little wooden bowls and the clay bowls, all these they left at Tepetitlan: they threw these into the water, off shore, at a place called Panoayan.

776 **Twenty-second Chapter**, which treats of the god with the mirror in his hair (Tezcatzoncatl), who also was held to be one of the four hundred rabbits (centzontotochtin).

He [was] the wine, in times past[125] considered full of sin. For he buried people off crags, he strangled people, he drowned people, he killed them.

He was an awesome being. One did not affront him: one did not speak lightly of him.

And this Tezcatzoncatl was also considered one of those called the four hundred rabbits, who are the substance of wine—Izcuinteat, Acolhua, Tlilhua, Pantzaat, Izquinteat, Tolteat, Papaztac, Tlalcozteua, Ome tochtli, Tepeneat, Chimalpaneat, Colhuacincat.[126]

And as for the array of Tezcatzoncatl, he had the white heron feather headdress; he had a crescent-shaped ornament through the septum of his nose and a paper earplug. He had a fan-shaped ornament of red aracu feathers and a neck piece with flecks scattered over it. He had the knotted cloth with [representations of] scorpions. He carried the palque gods' shield, the obsidian staff, and the fine staff. And also he had rattles.

quauhtzoncauaz, quappiztzoncauaz, auaki ueppa cuitzcapa, tepetzinco: aculco cuitzcapa, ueppa cuitzcapa, yiuapichcan panoayan.

Juic cuitzcapalli ytzcuinc capitlan, yualpa ilama in tezcatzoncatl, yn jquac yuej cuitzcapalloc.

Jehuatl in uetli, iappa tlatlacolli ipan mochioia: in tequanija, tepuchcuanija, tzonkaja, tzonjotla;

tzonxiuinaj, ome yiuiuinaj, ome chicuinaloaj.

Auh yeja tzcatzoncatl, yuaxa yuej, yuaxa ce, yn nemiaya, cuitzcapalloc, yn uetli inacaio, yn ijzcuinteat, Acolhua, tlilhua, pantzaat, Izquipeat, Toltecat, papaztac, Tlalcozteua, ume tochtli tepeneat, chimalpaneat, Colhuacincat.

Auh yn jnechichiual Tezcatzoncatl, cenxaxa, iacxaxtic, xiuacocoche, cuepalxiuicxaxa, chalaxac cuaqua, colochilpile, xoxouchchimale, ixmapile, tecpatapile, no tzitzile.

fin del libro

125. *Yppan tzonxihuitl*, in times past (Sahagun *op. cit.*). The meaning also could be "drunk."
126. See Sahagun *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 112, 311, 316; Vol. III, p. 139; Vol. V, p. 67, for explanation of the names.

2: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1950 NU7 Aztec NU7

ILLUSTRATIONS

ccc

Libro 1. de los dioses

77k
532

TR
532

—After Paso y Troncoso

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950
NU7 Aztec NU7

776
532

9—Tlapitlan tenan. 10—Cuapiltli. 11—Cuahhuhuitl yeua. 12—Tlapilmol.

—After Paso y Troncoso

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590)1950
NU7 Aztec NU7

776
532

—After Paul y Troncoso

Z: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950
NU7 Aztec NU7

776
532

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590)1950
NU7 Aztec NU7

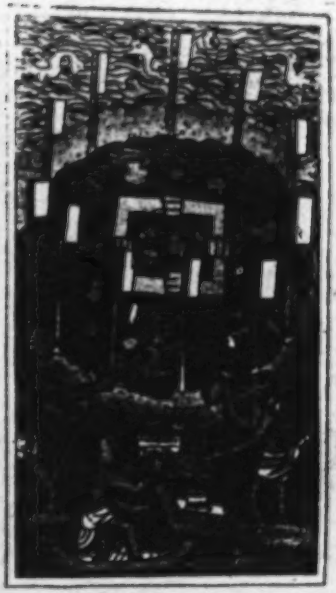
776
532

[782]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

21—Tamoanchcal. 22-30—Teplocalco.
31—Chalchiuhtli yeve (Chap. II). 32—Tlalocan (Temple of Tlaloc) (Chap. II).

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1950
NU7 Aztec NU7



776
532

[782]

[796
467]

[782
755]

—*After Peso y Troncoso*

26—Tzapotlan tenan (Chap. 9), Chalchiuhtli pozo (Chap. 11), Chicome xochil (Chap. 7). 28—Tlaquiloni—Cordadon (Ch.p. 8). 31—Mapa tenxil (Chap. 20). 32—Tzotzomac (Chap. 21). 36—Pantlitlan (Tepetzinco) (Chap. 23). 36—Appendix, Chap. 12. 38—Appendix, Chap. 12.

2: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590)1950
NU7 Aztec NU7

T76
532

[182]

—After Peñafiel y Troncoso

30—Appendix [Reference]. 31—Appendix [Reference] 32—Tiltontzin. Xiuhtzontli. 33—Opochtli.
34—Tlaxochtli. 35—Tzompantzontli. 36—Tepictoton.